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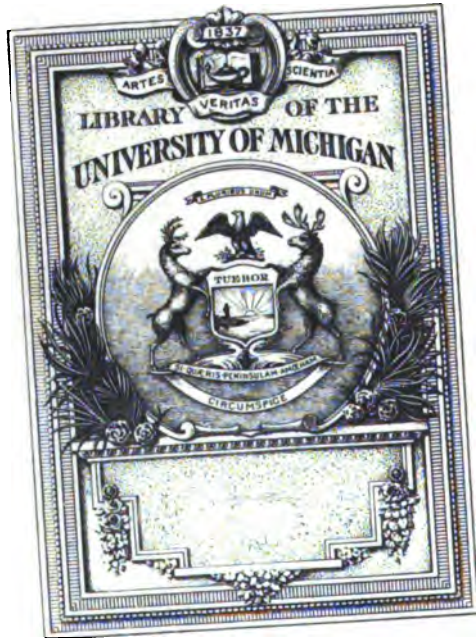
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From the Edition of
"Anglo-Catholic Principles,
Vindicated," to his dear friend -
& kind helper in his serial work -
The Rev. John Le Mesurier,
with best thanks & good wishes -



Richmond,
24th June 1876

DEAN COLET'S LETTERS
ON THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT
OF THE CREATION,

ETC.



By the same Editor.

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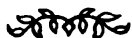
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IOANNIS COLETI OPUSCULA QUÆDAM
THEOLOGICA.



LETTERS TO RADULPHUS
ON THE MOSAIC ACCOUNT
OF THE CREATION,
TOGETHER WITH OTHER TREATISES.

BY JOHN COLET, M.A.

AFTERWARDS DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, WITH A TRANSLATION,

INTRODUCTION, AND NOTES,

BY J. H. LUPTON, M.A.

SUB-MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL, AND LATE FELLOW OF
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.



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PREFACE.

WITH the present volume, the series of hitherto unpublished works of Dean Colet, so far as they are known to be in existence, is brought to a close. Of the four treatises here submitted to the reader, two—the *Letters on the Mosaic Creation*, and the *Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*—are unfortunately imperfect; portions only of the original manuscripts having been preserved. Yet I shall be deceived if the former of these works, at least, is not found to possess an interest equal to that of any of its predecessors. For in it we see the author, not in the character of a zealous preacher, or a reformer of abuses—aspects under which he might already be sufficiently familiar to us;—but as an exponent of biblical and philosophical difficulties; traversing fearlessly and independently, though it may seem by strange and untrodden paths, the debateable ground of the Mosaic cosmogony.

To the unfinished *Exposition of Romans* an interest of another kind will attach. Not only is it striking, as an example of the close, almost interlinear, glossing then in vogue; and valuable, as supplementing the previous *Lectures on Romans*, just where that com-

mentary was most meagre; but it comes to light with singular appropriateness at the present moment, when the time-honoured School, which Dean Colet founded, is about to enter on a new and enlarged phase of its existence. For, were it possible to doubt, from what is already known of the founder, whether he might regard with favourable eyes such an extension of his beneficent designs; the doubt would be instantly set at rest, by the way in which we observe him to speak in this treatise (pp. 109-112), of the duties of a Christian testator.

In the unsparing terms, moreover, in which the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts are denounced (pp. 144, 163), there will be found matter to turn the edge of some of the most cutting accusations brought by Froude against the churchmen of Dean Colet's day. However widespread those abuses may have been, and however much they may have deserved castigation, it cannot, now at least, be denied, that they had been exposed and inveighed against by a churchman of the time, as severely, if not as eloquently, as by the modern historian.

The original of these two treatises is found in the Parker Manuscript, numbered ccclv. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The *Romans* comes first, and is a beautifully written transcript, in the hand of Peter Meghen, the famous one-eyed scribe of Brabant. It occupies the first 97 leaves. The *Letters on Genesis* fill the remaining 16 leaves of the volume. These are not in the same hand as the former; and the two fragments appear to have

been simply bound together. From the circumstance that a title, prefixed in red ink, is stated in a memorandum of Archbishop Parker to be in the writing of Cuthbert Tonsall, Bishop of Durham, we may conjecture that the manuscript came into the possession of the former, during Tonsall's honourable confinement at Lambeth. I regret that, when preparing for publication the previous *Lectures on Romans*, from the University MS. "Gg. iv. 26," I so far presumed on a hasty inspection of the Parker manuscript, as to conclude that it contained only an enlarged or revised copy of the other; and, under this impression, printed the first section of it as a convenient Introduction to that work. To distinguish the earlier commentary on *Romans* from the present unfinished exposition, I have referred to it, when necessary, by the title of *Lectures* on that Epistle.

My most grateful acknowledgments are due to the Master and Senior Fellows of Corpus Christi College for their permission to publish the contents of this manuscript; and to the Librarian, the Rev. S. S. Lewis, F.S.A., for his great courtesy in affording me a ready access to it. The labour of transcribing was in this case materially lightened, by the loan of a previously-made copy of the manuscript, for which I have to thank Mr. Seeborn, the author of the *Oxford Reformers*.

Of the remaining pieces, the one placed second in order of the four, the short treatise on *Christ's*

Mystical Body the Church, is taken from the manuscript "Gg. iv. 26" in the Cambridge University Library: the same which furnished materials for the two volumes last published. It occupies leaves 67-74 in this manuscript, and was all that remained of it unprinted. For the third and last time, I must now tender my most respectful thanks to the Senate, and to the University Librarian, Henry Bradshaw, Esq., M.A., for the liberality with which this valuable collection has been placed at my service.

The concluding treatise in this book, the *Commentary on I. Peter*, appears with but doubtful credentials. It forms the last portion of the Gale MS. "O. 4. 44" in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge; and has been selected for publication, as being the only complete treatise of any length contained in it. An account of the nature and supposed authorship of this manuscript was given before, in an Appendix to the *Lectures on Romans*, in 1873. While still ready to admit, that the abstracts of the Pauline Epistles, filling the first part of the volume, may very probably be Colet's, as was the opinion of the learned Dr. Thomas Gale; I confess that a repeated perusal of the *Commentary on I. Peter* has made me doubt very greatly of its genuineness. Some reasons for this opinion will be given in the Introduction. Still, out of deference to what would appear to have been Dr. Gale's judgment, I have thought it well to print the Latin text, though without a translation. The reader will thus, at any rate, have the means of forming an opinion for himself as to its authorship,

by comparing its style with that of the other treatises. For a most courteous permission so to print it, I must express my obligation to the Master and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, and to their Librarian, the Rev. Robert Sinker, M.A.

That these memorials of Lectures, delivered, in the first instance at least, in Oxford, should have been so long and faithfully preserved in the sister University, and should now be so liberally yielded up for the public service, must be a gratifying reflection to any one, who may cherish at the same time a regard for Cambridge, and for the memory of Dean Colet.

In editing the Latin text, I have kept consistently to the rule I began with, of not altering the spelling, with the exception of putting *æ* for *e*, and *j* and *v* for *i* and *u*, in certain readily understood instances. The reader must not be surprised, therefore, at meeting with such forms as *sepero*, *parditus*, and the like; or impatient at finding obvious inaccuracies uncorrected. Though Colet is classed by Wotton with Pole, Linacre, Ascham, and others, as one who "wrote Latin with a purity that no Italian needed then to have been ashamed of," still (in part, no doubt, from the fault of his transcribers), his style is more vigorous than exact. Where any serious obscurity may be found, the translation, I trust, will be accepted as the best commentary upon it that I can furnish.

But in truth it is not for his Latinity, be it ex-

cellent or indifferent, that we study Colet's writings at this time. It is now just four hundred years, since he was himself studying the Latin Grammar, a child at school. During that long interval, there has been space both for great events to happen, and for changes almost equally great to ensue in our estimation of those events. What looked to us at first like solitary mountains, have been seen to be only separate peaks, and not always the highest peaks, in a mighty chain. Especially has this been the case with the chief actors in the prolonged drama of the Reformation. Where, till quite recent times, Luther had seemed to predominate in unapproachable grandeur, other heights are now seen rising in the background, with a boldness of outline unsuspected before. Passing over Erasmus, as a name far too great to have been ever lost sight of, though not even yet appreciated as he deserves, the one who comes next to him, in interest to us Englishmen, is Dean Colet. At least, if it be really true, as one says, that "the awakening of a rational Christianity, whether in England, or in the Teutonic world at large, begins with the Florentine studies of John Colet;" such a claim on his behalf can hardly be deemed an extravagant one. For these words, be it observed, are not mine; they are not the expression of any local partiality. They convey the unbiased opinion of one so well qualified to judge, as the author of the *Short History of the English People*.

Now, if Colet really holds such a position as this in the history of his Church and country, or even one

at all approaching it, what shall we say of the singular indifference that prevails as to his real character and opinions? The confusion that exists as to the mere facts of his outer history is surprising enough. By Kurtz, for example, or his translator, he is made a Bishop. In a manuscript *Histoire de quelques Hérétiques et Impies*, preserved in the public library at Lille, his name stands at the head of the English contingent in that goodly company. While others again, who might easily be better informed, seem to find a pleasure in reiterating the absurd story, that he was the flogging Divine held up to execration by Erasmus. Yet mistakes like these can be more readily forgiven, than the wilful ignorance of others, who theorize about Colet's teaching without apparently having read a line of it; and who would certainly be as much astonished as any of their own readers, to find what his sentiments really were about a good many important matters. That the titles, at any rate, of his various writings may be better known, I have added a complete list of them in the Appendix.

In designating the author of these expositions, on the title-page, as Master of Arts, instead of Doctor of Divinity, I have been simply guided by the wish to be in strict accordance with facts. We are expressly told by Erasmus, that during the years in which he was lecturing on St. Paul's Epistles at Oxford, Colet had neither taken, nor sought to take, any degree in Divinity. And though I am unable to state at what

period of his life some portions of the present volume—the *Letters on Genesis*, for example—were composed, there is every probability that at any rate the *Exposition of Romans*, like the previous *Lectures* on the same Epistle, were among those so delivered at Oxford.

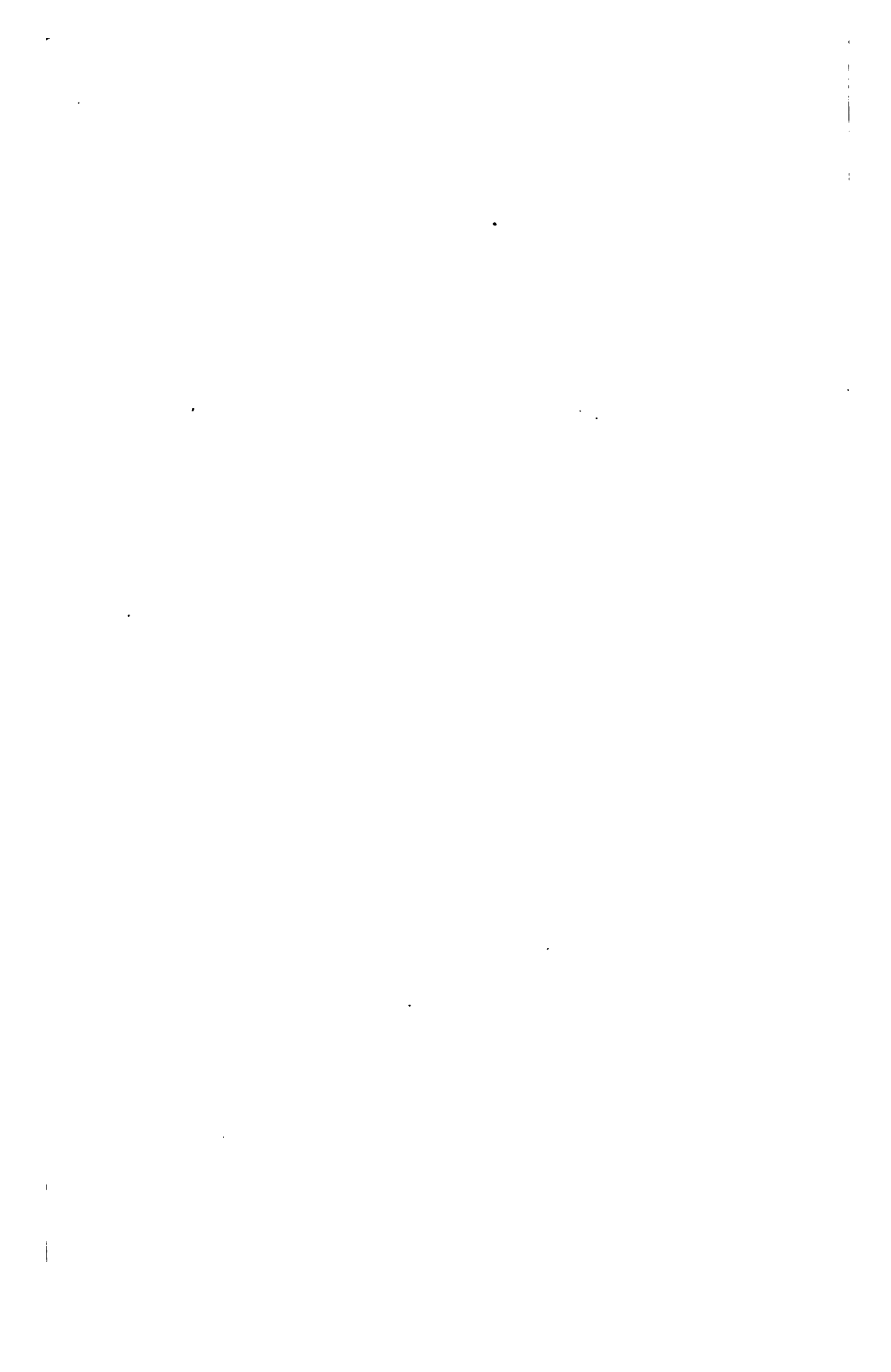
In conclusion, I cannot repress some feeling of gratification, at having been enabled to complete a task, which has absorbed, for a good many years now, most of the few leisure hours afforded by the laborious occupations of a schoolmaster. It may be thought a coincidence worth noting, that, as one of the latest, if not the very latest, of the extant letters of Dean Colet, is that in which he writes to Wolsey on behalf of his first sur-master, John Rightwise; so the task of discharging this debt of gratitude to the founder's memory, should have fallen to the lot of one, who seems likely to be the last sur-master of that ancient School. I cannot indeed claim any of the merit, which belongs of right to Mr. Seebohm alone, of having gathered an audience to the feet of Colet, more numerous by far than ever listened to him at the University. But after all, if there be any truth in the adage, "Speak, that I may know thee," then I trust that even this imperfect endeavour, to let it be known what Colet really has to say, will be received with forbearance; and that some candid spirits may welcome the effort, with words of approval like those of Baudius to Merula: "Quocirca facis rem optimam et acceptissimam candidioribus ingeniis, quod opere hactenus inedito, memoriam maximi hominis non quidem

vindicas ab injuria oblivionis, quæ tantam lucem obruere non potest; sed grata tamen novi muneris largitione rursus eum velut in Famæ theatrum producis."

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL,

March 25th, 1876.





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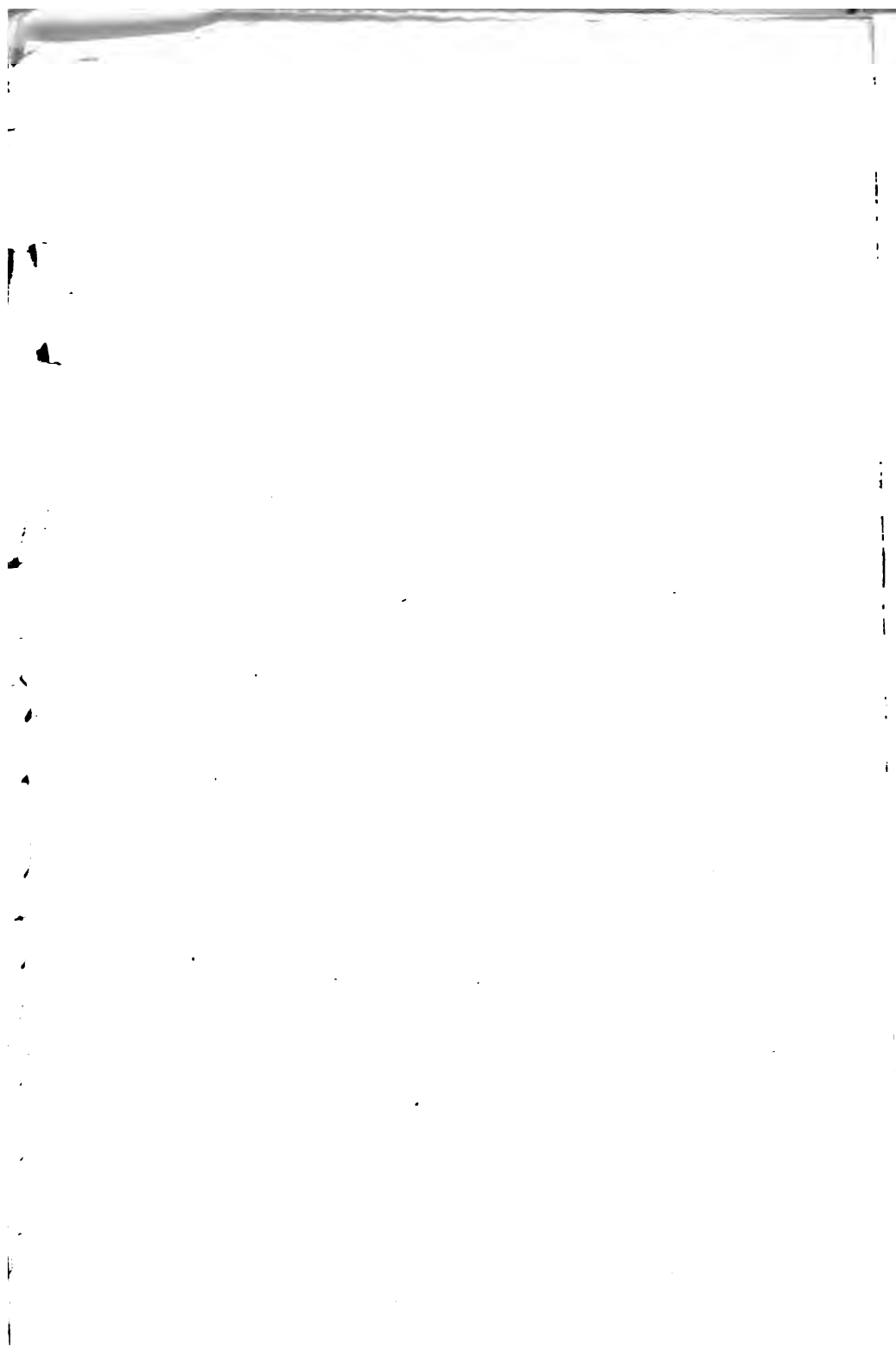
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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.—ON THE LETTERS TO RADULPHUS.

AS there would seem to be no means of determining at what date these letters were written, nor, in consequence, whether they formed an episode of Colet's work at Oxford or in London; our attention may be confined to the following enquiries:—who the Radulphus was, to whom he addressed this exposition of the first chapter of Genesis; what line he takes in his exposition; and from what sources his principles of interpretation were derived.

1.—On the first of these points but little certainty can be obtained. No personal traits, or allusions, are furnished us, by the help of which this correspondent of Colet's might be identified. He appears to have begun the correspondence by writing, or asking, for information about what is said in the Bible concerning Lamech. But beyond this incident, and the compliment paid him of being a "most accomplished philosopher," and the chance mention of his having been absent some days on matters of business,¹ there is absolutely nothing in the Letters themselves, to indicate who or what this Radulphus was.

The shadowy nature of such a personality is a thing of less importance, if we keep in mind what was beyond doubt a common practice with Colet. This was, to take advantage of incidental opportunities, like this enquiry on the part of Radulphus, to throw into some more permanent form materials on which his mind had been already working. Thus, after making an elaborate abstract of the

¹ *Infra*, p. 24.

Hierarchies of Dionysius, he prefaces it with a few introductory words, implying that it was drawn up for the gratification of a friend.¹ So too, with the conversation fresh in mind, that he had held with a priest at Oxford about the Epistle to the Romans, he sets down in minute detail an account of the topics discussed, and sends it for the perusal of the Abbot and Warden of Winchcombe, with a request that the sheet may be returned to him again, when read. And thus, without multiplying examples, we may perhaps see reason to conclude, that it is a matter of but secondary moment, who was the Radulphus of these *Letters*, or the Edmundus of the ensuing commentary on *Romans*, or the "angelic-minded friend" of the *Hierarchies*; seeing that Colet, ever glad to learn and glad to teach, as was a still earlier "Clerk of Oxenforde," delighted in nothing so much as in filling, with the gathered stores of his learning, the first receptacles that stood open to receive them.

Premising thus much, I will bring forward the one Radulphus, in whose favour there seems to be a slight balance of probability, as compared with others of the name who might be known to Colet:—Dr. Ralph Collingwood, Dean of Lichfield.

Ralph Collingwood was through life a close contemporary with Colet. In 1487 he was installed prebendary of Beckhill in the Church of York;² and as Colet, some six or seven years afterwards, was made prebendary of Botevant in the same Church, the two might thus be occasionally brought into contact. In 1509 Collingwood was made a prebendary of Lichfield, and in 1512, Dean. He died Nov. 22nd, 1521, surviving Colet a little more than two years.³ But what we are chiefly concerned to notice, is,

¹ *Hierarchies*, p. 1.—In this case also the friend cannot be identified; while at the same time the care spent on the transcript, like that observed in the present instance, betokens more than the desire to instruct or oblige a solitary correspondent.

² Lansdowne MSS., No. 978 (vol. xlv. of Kennett's Collections), f. 218.

³ Le Neve's *Fasti* (1854), I. 599.

that he is said to have been the first Dean of Lichfield, who made a practice of preaching every Sunday in his Cathedral.¹ Whether this was due to the effect of Dean Colet's example, or not, is more than we can determine; but certainly Colet had been doing the same thing for some years before.

Moreover, in 1507, this same Dr. Collingwood had been appointed warden of the college of St. Thomas the Martyr, at Stratford-upon-Avon. And in this capacity, carrying out an unfulfilled design of his predecessor, he instituted, we are told, "four children choristers, to be daily assistant in the celebration of divine service in that Church;" and laid down some interesting rules for their mode of living: one being that "at dinner and supper time they should constantly be in the College, to wait at the table, and to read the Bible or some other authentic book."²

From such incidents as these, it may be thought that Collingwood was a likely person for Colet to have been in correspondence with, on Biblical topics: and this is about all that can be said for him.³

2.—Passing now from the region of conjecture to an examination of the Letters themselves, a very slight inspection shows how original is the mode of treatment pur-

¹ "Is primus et solus omnium decanorum in more habuit, concionem ad populum quolibet die dominico habere, ad tempus horæ dimidiatæ."—*Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 456, quoted in Knight's *Life of Colet*.

² Lansdowne MS. 978, *ubi sup.*

³ Another Radulphus with whom Colet may have been acquainted, was Ralph Lupton, an advocate in the Court of Arches in 1518, rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street, in 1519, and who died about 1523. He was a schoolfellow at Eton of John Rightwise, Colet's first sur-master for St. Paul's School; his kinsman, Dr. Roger Lupton, afterwards founder of Sedbergh School, being provost of Eton at the time. Ralph Lupton went up to King's College, Cambridge, in 1506, and Rightwise the year after. The correspondence with the provost of Eton, implied in the appointment of Rightwise, affords a slight connecting link with this other Radulphus; but too slight to be worth more than this passing allusion.—For particulars of these old Etonians, see Lipscomb's *Buckinghamshire*, iv. p. 477; Cole's MSS., vol. xiii. f. 142; and Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrig.* i. pp. 28, 71.

sued, and how the freedom and independence of it seem to anticipate the most modern spirit of enquiry.

After premising that no one can hope to penetrate satisfactorily the obscurity which enshrouds the first part of Genesis, without a knowledge of Hebrew, Colet proceeds to give the result of his own study of the opening chapter.

The first point to be noticed, is one which he does not raise till the second Letter; but on which he lays such stress then and afterwards, reverting to it again and again, that it deserves to be put in the forefront now. This is, that Moses all along adapted his teaching to suit the needs and capacity of a rude and uninstructed multitude.

To him, Moses is a wise and considerate lawgiver, teaching a rude and uncivilized people the first elements of religious knowledge. He does not scruple to compare him to a poet, quoting the authority of Origen for the expression;¹ and the break in the manuscript, unfortunate as it is, yet occurs at a point just so far advanced, as to leave untouched the remarkable sentence, in which Moses is said to have made use of an "honestissimo et piissimo figmento."

Now, without pressing this last word unduly, or forgetting that it has a more creditable sound in Latin than in English, it is plain that we have here a distinct recognition of the great truth, conveyed in the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that God has "in many measures," no less than "in many ways," spoken to our fathers in times past. It would have been well, indeed, had there always been such a recognition of this truth, the teaching alike of Holy Scripture and of reason, that, when mankind were as children, God spake to them as to children.

The first five verses are considered by Colet to comprise an epitome, or summary, of the whole creation. The first exercise of the Divine power was to cause the union of *form* with *matter*; and at the word *Let there be light*, all things assumed form and definition.

It would be inconsistent with the majesty of God, and an

¹ *Infra*, pp. 9, 23, 27.

unworthy human conception, to suppose that He made the universe piece after piece. And the Book of Ecclesiasticus assures us that He made all things together. Hence what is called the first day's work is really the whole in epitome; Moses proceeding afterwards to classify and describe the various parts in detail.

This leads us to consider the explanation given of the meaning of the word *day*.

By *first day*, or *one day* (as it is more literally), Colet understands the divine eternity to be meant; that true and proper eternity, which, as being a "universal *now*," may be regarded as in one sense a point or instant. In this it was that God created the heaven and the earth. By *second day* he thinks that we may understand "eternal time." That is to say, when Moses is proceeding to describe the universe in detail, and is beginning with what might seem the first and highest part of it, namely, the firmament, he assigns to that portion what may be regarded as the utmost extension of time, that is, perpetuity. Eternity proper has neither beginning nor end. "Eternal time," or eternity in the loose sense in which we sometimes use the word (as in "eternal punishment," and the like), has a beginning but no end. Therefore, as time, for us, begins with the first movements of our celestial dial, "eternal time," or time in its nearest approach to eternity, is the *second day* of the firmament.

This may be considered artificial. And certainly it is here, if anywhere, that we discern traces of inconsistency, or, at least, of Colet's not having quite thought out his subject. For, instead of attempting to explain the *third day* on a similar principle, calling it, for instance, "finite time," he appears to have foreseen that this would only lead him into an embarrassment, and goes back to begin again on a fresh principle. This is, that though to imagine a succession of *times* in creation is unworthy of the great Artificer, yet we may fairly and without derogation imagine an *order* in the component parts of the mighty fabric itself. In treating of these successively, it is not unfitting to attach successive denominations of time to them. Hence to the

first, second, third, and so on, of the series, there is attached a corresponding notation of time. As all created things easily range themselves into six groups, or classes, so it was natural to mark these off by a parallel arrangement of six days; more especially as, by this method, a powerful incentive would be given to the Jews to complete their weekly labours also in six days, and rest on the seventh, after the example of God. And this, he says, "was the chief motive for that sixfold division of events."

A few other points deserve notice. The term *waters*, where it occurs at the beginning of the account, is used to denote the fluid, unstable nature of matter in general. And as all created beings partake of matter, by *waters above the firmament* may be well signified the angelic hosts; who are thus separated from the *waters under the firmament*, or sublunary sphere, by that interposing heaven. To illustrate this, Colet cites the division of the universe made by the Platonist Mirandola, in which the "heavenly world" comes midway between the "angelic" and the "earthly." On the other hand, when the dry land is caused to appear, in the third day's work, the term *waters* is used in its proper and more restricted sense. Moreover, in keeping with what he dwells so much upon in other treatises—the theory of successive degrees of approach to God, and emanation from God—Colet here also conceives of a succession of emanations from the fountain of all Being: one needing to be finished, before another is begun. In the present case, the first emanation is that of the concentric spheres; the second, or subordinate one, that of the offspring or produce of these several spheres. And here occurs a difficulty which he spends some time in explaining. If a due order be observed in relating the secondary emanations, how is it that the offspring of *heaven*, namely, the stars, is not mentioned before the offspring of *earth*, namely, vegetation? Whereas the growth of herb and grass from the earth (ver. 11), is spoken of as preceding the appearance of the lights in the firmament of heaven (ver. 16). His answer is twofold. Earth's produce was mentioned first, to guard against any tendency in men's minds to suppose it due to the influence

of the stars. A passing protest is thus introduced against the astrological notions prevalent in Colet's time. His other reason is, that the vegetation which covers the surface of our globe may be regarded as being really part of the earth itself; as of the nature of parent rather than progeny; as "habitations," rather than "inhabitants."

The darkness, which disappears when God says *Let there be light*, is not something positive and real, driven away by a stronger opposing power. Darkness is nothing, and evil is nothing.

Of points not noticed by Colet, the one of which the omission might perhaps most surprise us, is the question why no blessing is attached to the second day's work: a question raised by Augustine,¹ and fully debated by De Lyra, and other early commentators.

Lastly, the playfulness of tone to be observed in several passages of these letters, is in striking contrast to the unvarying seriousness with which Colet elsewhere writes, when discussing scriptural topics; and renders the statement of Erasmus quite intelligible, as to the good company he could be when occasion served.

Such are, in very brief outline, the salient points of Colet's treatment of the subject. To trace up to their origin the various streams of thought, as they are here seen blended in the author's mind, and to assign to each its relative importance, would be a task requiring a deeper and more careful analysis than can now be attempted. A few leading indications must suffice.

3.—There can be little doubt that a study of Mirandola's *Heptaplus*, or sevenfold exposition of the seven days of the Creative Week, was at least a proximate cause both of Colet's interest in the subject, and of the line he took in his interpretation. In the second Letter he expressly refers to it by name. But, besides the fact that an account of this work has been already given,² the composite nature of it is such,

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, xi. 20.

² *Lectures on Romans*, Introd. p. xxxii.

that it would need an analysis even more than the present one. It seems better, therefore, to seek out at once the original sources, which were in a great measure common to both of them, and from which Colet had drawn as independently, if not so copiously, as his illustrious contemporary.

To the current Aristotelianism of the schools must be attributed what is said at the outset about the union of *form* with *matter*. That one trained, as Colet had been, at Oxford, should be imbued with such philosophy, was inevitable. If we think of it, Aristotle must have seemed to a scholar of his day a *modern* authority, to a degree we cannot at first realize. For the great mass of Aristotle's writings only became known to the western world in the lifetime of Aquinas: and from the birth of Aquinas to the birth of Colet, is a period scarcely any longer than that from the birth of Newton to the present day. Franciscan, and therefore Scotist, as Oxford was; less disposed than the Dominicans to bow to Aquinas, and to Aristotle with Aquinas; it was yet impossible for one reared in that university to do otherwise than imbibe such teaching, as the terms *form* and *matter* betokened. Aristotle was their Newton, and far more. But then, just as Colet passes from these catch-words of the Lyceum to the allegories of the Platonizing Philo, apparently unconscious of any discordance between the two; even so had men, from the very earliest times, been alternating between Aristotle and Plato, and seeking to combine the theories of them both.

In the early days of Christianity at Alexandria, when the disputant on the Church's side could point to the want of agreement between the two great systems of heathen philosophy, it was felt that he had a powerful weapon in his hands. Under pressure of this attack from without, very strenuous efforts were made by the supporters of the old philosophies, to show that Plato and Aristotle differed only in name.¹ As time rolled on, when the world had become

¹ See Mosheim: *De turbata per recentiores Platonicos ecclesia* (1767), p. 125; and Brucker: *Miscellanea Hist. Philosophicæ* (1748), p. 129.

Christian, and the works of those great masters had passed into the possession of the Church, the desire to harmonize their doctrines was as great, though from other motives, as it had previously been; and we find the Christian Mirandola¹ as eager in the cause, as the anti-Christian Porphyry had been twelve centuries before. Hence the strange centos of mysticism and philosophy, such as those which passed under the name of Hermes Trismegistus² in earlier ages, and that which came from Ficino, and others like him, in later. And hence it need cause us no surprise to find Colet, Platonist as in the main he was, starting with Aristotelian terms, at the beginning of his task. In the use of them, it will be noticed, he shows more than ordinary precision. For, in reminding us that "matter never existed apart from form,"³ he is avoiding the extravagance, into which many were led both before and after, of reasoning about those terms, as if they were realities, separable in fact; and not merely "notional elements," capable of being discriminated in speculation.⁴

As the next chief source of Colet's interpretation, we must pass to Philo Judæus. Before quoting his opinion about the eternity of the universe, which he does early in his first Letter,⁵ Colet does indeed make mention of Origen and Jerome, but only as instances of the importance of a knowledge of Hebrew to an expounder of Scripture.

With Philo the Jew, brought face to face with the phi-

¹ See the *Hierarchies*, Introd. p. xxiii.; and the interesting account left by Crinitus of a conversation on this subject at Florence between Savonarola, Mirandola, Lorenzo, and himself:—*De Honesta Disciplina* (1598), p. 70.

² From the passages quoted below (pp. 22n. 37 n.), it might almost seem as if Colet, like his most illustrious pupil, had delighted to "out-watch the Bear, with thrice-great Hermes." But Hermes is a thorough conglomerate; and we have always to trace back what is found in him to its real origin.

³ *Infra*, p. 5.

⁴ See Grote's *Aristotle*, vol. ii. p. 180; and for the influence of this Aristotelian conception on theology, especially on the doctrine of the Sacraments, see Hampden's *Bampton Lectures* (1833), p. 335.

⁵ *Infra*, p. 4.

losophers of Alexandria, it had fared much as it afterwards did with the successors of those same philosophers, when brought face to face with Christianity. They felt bound to show, in the presence of a common opponent, that their masters, Plato and Aristotle, were at one. So had Philo felt bound to show, to the learned Platonists of his own generation, that his teacher and theirs were at one; and that all the leading tenets of the Academy were to be discovered in the sacred writings of the Hebrews.¹ The sunken prestige of his countrymen would be restored, if he could make it evident that Pythagoras and Plato had but lit their tapers at the lamp of Moses.² It was this motive which led Philo to such excesses in allegorical interpretation; so that we find him, at times, rejecting the literal sense of the Pentateuch as altogether unworthy of notice; talking in Platonic language about the entrance of souls into the prison-house of the body; expatiating on the mysteries of numbers; and surrounding the Creator of the universe with an attendant throng of archetypal ideas.³ What an influence Philo has exercised on the Christian Church, through Origen, is well known. Erasmus confesses that he himself came under the spell;⁴ and how greatly Colet is indebted to Philo, in the present work, is apparent at once. It will be sufficient to specify two points here, in addition to others which will be found remarked upon in the notes:—first, the folly of supposing literal days to be meant; and secondly, the reason why the creation of plants

¹ See Planck: *De principiis et causis interpretationis Philoniana allegorica* (1806), p. 54.

² "Cujus quippe legislator longe ante Græcorum origines, prima quasi lumina ac quasi igniculos philosophiæ accenderat."—*Ib.* p. 55.

³ "Die Kräfte umgeben Gott als dienende Geister, wie ein Hofstaat den Monarchen."—Ueberweg: *Grundriss der Gesch. der Phil. (vorchrist. Zeit)*, 1863, p. 161.—See also Fabricii *Opuscula*, 1738, p. 155, and Mosheim's *Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccl. pertinentes* (1767), ii. p. 597.

⁴ Under the guidance of Origen, as he writes to Colet, he "seemed really to get on;" for Origen opened to him, as it were, "the springs and the method of theological science."—Letter to Colet, translated in *The Oxford Reformers*, p. 169.

should be described before that of the stars. Both these points are brought into prominence by Colet; and on both of them he has followed the lead of Philo.¹

That Colet should have been indebted to Origen, whom he more than once refers to by name, will seem very natural, after what has been said about Origen's great predecessor in the school of allegory. But he appears to have borrowed less from him directly, than might have been supposed. From the *contra Celsum* he avowedly took his authority for comparing Moses to a poet: perhaps also his interpretation of the *waters above the firmament*; and his conception of *adaptation* on the part of Moses to the mental ability of his people.² But the *tu quoque* tone of argument pervading that treatise would make it less available for Colet's purpose; as again the constant moralising in the *Homiliae in Genesim*, no less than the comparatively short space devoted to the first chapter of Genesis in that work, would render it less productive, than the title of it might have led us to suppose.

Passing over other authors, to whom his indebtedness is more uncertain,³ there remains one to whom beyond all question he owed much in this exposition; perhaps more than to any other; I mean, Augustine.

At the end of the tenth book of the *Confessions*, Augus-

¹ Compare what is said below, p. 27, with the *Legis Allegoriarum*, Lib. i. § 2; and what is said, p. 19, with the *De Mundi Opificio* (ed. 1613, p. 7, C—E): "Quarto autem die cælum picturis exornavit, non quod terræ id posthaberet, dans inferiori privilegium . . . [sed quod] annuorum terræ proventuum omniumque nascentium causas acceptum laturi essent siderum cælestium ambitibus."

² See Lib. vi. of the *contra Celsum* (ed. Spence, 1677), p. 289; and Lib. i. p. 15.

³ The *Questiones Hebraicæ* of Jerome discuss only three points from Genesis I.;—the meaning of *beginning* (ver. 1), *moved* (ver. 2), and *seas* (ver. 10).—Chrysostom's *Homiliae in Genesim* are strictly, what the name implies, sermons. He begins one of them by rebuking some of his congregation for having attended horse-races (Hom. vi. § 1); and, as this circumstance may indicate, difficulties of interpretation are made quite subordinate to practical application.—The *Hexameron* of Ambrose is more elaborate. Colet possibly took one or two hints from it, referred to afterwards in the notes.

tine, in the words of his translator, "breaks off the history of the mode whereby God led him to Holy Orders, in order to *confess* God's mercies in opening to him the Scriptures."¹ Hence the eleventh and two following books are occupied with a discussion of the beginning of Genesis. In the keen, restless, enquiring spirit there revealed, we see much that reminds us of Colet; over and above the similarity of details that a closer examination will discover. The *obscurity* of Genesis, which is Colet's first topic, is the title of one of his chapters.² The theory that in the opening verses we have an epitome of the whole creation, afterwards related successively in detail, is one which Augustine mentions as being held by some persons, and as possibly a true one, though not what he himself preferred.³ Eternity is God's *to-day*: before heaven and earth began there could be no time.⁴ A measure by *days* is introduced, as harmonizing with the changes in motion and form.⁵ Matter in general is called *water* at the beginning; but when Moses relates the separation of the dry land from the water, then this latter term is used in its proper and restricted sense.⁶ The reason why the obscure nature of matter should be denoted by such a term, was, that it might be made more intelligible to the uninstructed.⁷ In opposition to the Manicheans, "with whom darkness was a self-existent substance," Augustine declares that the *dark-*

¹ *The Confessions of St. Augustine* . . . by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, 1838, p. 225.

² xii. 25.

³ xii. 17: "Quid illud est? Nomine aiunt cæli et terræ, totum istum visibilem mundum prius universaliter et breviter significare voluit, ut postea digereret dierum enumeratione."

⁴ xi. 13: "Anni tui dies unus Hodiernus tuus æternitas."—"Si autem ante cælum et terram nullum erat tempus, cur quæritur, etc."

⁵ xii. 12: "Quicquid deinceps in constitutione hujus mundi non sine diebus factum commemoratur: quia talia sunt, ut in eis agantur vicissitudines temporum, propter ordinatas commutationes motionum atque formarum."

⁶ *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, I. vii. § 12 and § 18.

⁷ "Ut res ignota notis vocabulis insinuaretur imperitiis."—*Ib.* § 12.

ness, which was upon the face of the deep, was nothing—nothing but the absence of light.¹ It was but as the silence, which reigns when there is no sound. The difficulty about the firmament's being spoken of as made on the third day, after the creation of heaven on the first, is not passed by;² nor that involved in the mention of evening before morning. And in explaining the latter on the principle of analogy, by comparison with the day's work of some mortal man, which ends at evening, Augustine leaves a way open for great latitude of interpretation. Indeed, he expressly declares it to be a custom of Holy Scripture, thus to transfer the terms of human language, and apply them to things divine.³

In short, without multiplying examples, I think enough has been said to show that Colet was largely influenced by Augustine, both as regards the general spirit of enquiry in which he enters on the subject of these Letters, and the special line of interpretation which he follows.⁴

§ 2.—ON THE COMPOSITION OF CHRIST'S MYSTICAL BODY,
THE CHURCH.

THIS treatise, short, and not particularly striking, as it is, comes not inappropriately after what Colet has written on the generation of the Heaven and the Earth. There is an element of Aristotelian thought in both: and just as the *De Generatione et Corruptione* follows the *De Cælo* in the order

¹ *Confess.* xii. 2, and Pusey's Translation, p. 250.—In the *De Civit. Dei*, xi. 22, Augustine completes Colet's sentence, as to the nothingness of evil also: "cum omnino natura nulla sit malum, nomenque hoc non sit nisi privationis boni."

² *Ib.* xii. 8, § 2: "Jam enim feceras et cælum ante omnem diem, etc."

³ *De Genesi c. Manichæos*, I. xiv. § 20: "Habent enim consuetudinem divinæ Scripturæ de rebus humanis ad divinas res verba transferre."

⁴ I have been the more minute in these citations from Augustine, from the bearing they have on the opinion, entertained by many, that Colet had a special dislike to his writings. The question will be discussed further on, in the Introduction to the *Romans*.

of Aristotle's works, so this, which treats of the endless flux and instability, and the mutual antagonisms, of all corporeal things, may come not unfitly as a sequel to the Letters on Genesis.

The titles of the works just mentioned, with the addition of the *De Anima*, will sufficiently indicate one course of thought pursued in this treatise. Another—or rather, the other, for the weft and woof of it are formed almost wholly out of Aristotle and St. Paul,—is derived from the simile of the Body and its Members, found in the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. Which of the two elements preponderated in Colet's mind, will easily appear from the treatise itself.

He starts with the idea, partly due to Aristotle, but greatly exaggerated by later commentators,¹ that the visible world, as also the human body, itself a microcosm or lesser world, are formed of contrary and conflicting principles. The heavy is always opposed to the light, the hot to the cold, and so on. The *corruption*, or change of form, of one, is the *generation* of another. When water loses the form of water, by evaporation, it becomes vapour, or air; and conversely. When solid ice loses the form of ice, by liquefaction, it becomes water: and so in numberless other instances. In matter there is nothing permanent; all stability is from the determining *form*.² That form, so far as the human body is concerned, is the soul, or vital principle, in man. Without it, the human frame is a mere piece of mechanism; beautifully constructed, indeed, but devoid

¹ The subject of Generation and Corruption really begins with the third book of the *De Cælo*, and is continued through the succeeding work, bearing that title.—See Grote's *Aristotle*, ii. p. 433 n., and Blakesley's *Aristotle* (Encycl. Metrop., 1859), p. 173.—The notion of contrariety and antagonism, in the elements composing the universe, was carried to a strange excess by later writers. Thus one of them, Campanella, accounted for the spherical shape of the earth, by comparing it to an army, massed in convex phalanx, to withstand the assaults of the heavenly spheres.—See Francisci Coventriensis *De Mundo Peripatetico* (1652), p. 11.

² See the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 81.

of motive power. In such a state, if left without its organizing and moving principle, not only is the machine inactive, but its parts will not long cohere together. *Corruption* sets in. But give the body its vital principle, and the machine has that which was wanted to set it in motion, and to make the parts work in organic unity.

Applying these theories to the body politic, Colet describes, in forcible language, the state in which the human race was left by nature:—everywhere “drifting on, purposeless and disorganized; without order, without *form*, without goodness; incapable of working righteousness; every one, forsaken of God, sinking as low as his own nature led him.”¹ Here, as elsewhere, when he is setting forth the condition of fallen man, not yet taken hold of and raised up by the grace of God, Colet’s language reads like a comment on the mournful picture given in the Wisdom of Solomon: *So that there reigned in all men without exception blood, manslaughter, theft, and dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury.*² All these things are of the nature of death. The fabric of human society, if pervaded by them, and left to itself, must collapse, and fall to decay, like a body forsaken by its soul. If it is to be re-animated it must be by a spirit from without;³ for from what is evil, nothing but evil can originate.

And what is this vital principle⁴ of the Christian Body, which is to do for it what the soul of man does for the human body? In another work, Colet answers this question in terms yet more strictly philosophical than in the present one. “The soul of this body,” he there writes,⁵ “and, if I

¹ *Infra*, p. 33.

² Ch. xiv. 25.—Compare with this the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, p. 121; and also *infra*, pp. 130, 135.

³ *Infra*, p. 33, compared with the *De Generatione Animalium*, II. iii. 10: “Restat igitur, ut mens sola extrinsecus accedat, eaque sola divina sit.”

⁴ Neither *vital principle*, nor *soul*, is an exact equivalent, taken singly, of the original term.—See Lewes’s *Aristotle*, p. 221; and Sir Alexander Grant’s *Ethics of Aristotle* (1874), i. p. 295.

⁵ *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, p. 123.—To what is there said about *entelechy*, may be added the definition of it given by Grote (*Aristotle*,

may use the Greek term of Aristotle, is *entelechy*—that is, the perfection and completeness of its action—is God Himself, the Holy Trinity.” Not otherwise, in this, he makes the animating power to be the Holy Spirit of God. This spirit is to the body what *form* is to *matter*, holding and compacting all together; and “the harmony and mutual agreement of the parts is caused by that one and the same Spirit, who cements them all into one.”¹ To express this binding and cementing power (*virtus conglutinans*), Colet resorts to several fanciful comparisons. In one of these, with a depth of meaning that will hardly be perceived by us, unless we call to mind the old theories about the nature of magnetic attraction, he likens it to “the influence of the magnet upon iron, by which the iron is attracted and held in suspense.”²

From the Divine Essence thus pervading the Christian Body, its various members have their organic life and their several powers; for *in Him we live and move and have our being*. No member of it can possess either life or energy, except through the permeating influence of the common Spirit. This influence is bestowed in varying degrees, so that some members have a more spiritual nature than others; “just as in man, between his soul and body, there intervene pure, subtle, bright, and fiery spirits, generated from the heat of the heart and the subtler blood.”³ But though there is a difference of degree, no member is for-

ii. 187): “the lowest stage of actuality, or the minimum of influence required to transform potentiality into actuality.”

¹ *Infra*, p. 38.

² *Infra*, p. 39.—The passage from Porphyry, quoted in the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, receives illustration from one in Gil’s *Sacred Philosophy* (1635), Pt. ii. p. 192, in which he adduces the attractive power of the magnet on particles of iron, even when mixed with dust, to explain some of the difficulties attending the doctrine of a resurrection:—“And if this be possible to metall, by reason of the *common spirit*, how much more to the soule, when it is commanded to gather together that dust, which once it had enlived by itselfe.”—See also *Joannis Longloni Sermones* (1518), fol. 25 vers.

³ *Hierarchies*, p. 128.—The whole passage affords a good parallel to the present treatise.

gotten: spiritual life is diffused to all. If any single member—any man—seeks to live by a life of his own, the attempt is futile. He can have no life but by sharing in the new life of Christ; and to enjoy this, he must die to all that caused the death of Christ. They who thus live through the organic life of the body, in vital union with Christ its Head, will feel their community of interest as members of it; that all may “sympathize and concur together.”

If Colet begins with Aristotle, he ends with St. Paul. The philosophical ideas introduced were likely to be less familiar to the reader than the scriptural; and hence it has been necessary to give a disproportionate share of attention to them in the preceding outline. But it will easily be seen how much fuller Colet's mind was of the Bible, than of any philosophy whatever. Like the Eulalius of the *Convivium Religiosum*, “he has ever the Epistles of St. Paul on his tongue and in his heart.”¹

§ 3.—ON THE EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

THAT this is an unfinished commentary, has been already mentioned in the Preface. It breaks off at the end of the Fifth Chapter; but whether this portion is itself incomplete I am not able to say. Probably it is not. It is Colet's manner to preface his exposition of each Chapter with a series of more or less detached thoughts, or reflections,² and to conclude it in a similar way. As the regular commentary on the Fifth Chapter is duly brought to an end, and one or two reflections are found added; the last coming to an apparent close; we may fairly judge that the present section, though but a fragment, is so far complete in itself.³

¹ “Hic sunt Epistolæ Pauli; quas tu libenter tecum circumfers, Eulali, qui Paulum semper habere soleas in ore; nec haberes in ore, nisi esset in pectore.”

² Sometimes merely short sentences, as at p. 55; “rings, wrought out of the golden material of St. Paul,” as he calls them to the Abbot of Winchcombe; resembling, in this respect, those which stand at the beginning of the doubtful Gale MS., elsewhere described.

³ It is a somewhat curious coincidence, that the unfinished commen-

Colet himself calls it a "literal exposition";¹ and thus we may expect to find it differing in the manner of treatment from the previous commentary on the same Epistle, designed, or at any rate made use of, for a lecture room. There is occasionally a verbal minuteness in interpreting, which can with difficulty be reproduced in an English version; the method of which would, in fact, be best understood by a glance at the interlineary gloss on a page of the great Bible of De Lyra.² On the same principle, there is but little of an allegorical or mystical nature; the chief exception being in what he says of the inner meaning, supposed by him to underlie the rite of circumcision.

It was undertaken in the first instance, as he himself tells us, for the instruction of some youth called Edmund, whom he describes as reading Divinity at the same time that he was studying "literature."³ If we suppose, as seems most natural, that this occurred during Colet's residence at Oxford, we may infer that Edmund was a pupil, attached (as those whom we should now call undergraduates then more directly were) to Colet as his special master.⁴ After incepting in Arts, the road was open to any student to begin a course of theological reading, if he preferred that faculty; and the expression used of Edmund might seem at first sight to point to such a stage in his university career; when, as we should now say, he had taken his Master of Arts degree, and, while still keeping up his "literature" (that is, his subjects in Arts), was preparing for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. But the way in which he is spoken of, when first mentioned, appears to in-

tary of Ficino on St. Paul's Epistles breaks off nearly at the same point (Rom. v. 12), occupying pp. 425-472 of vol. i. of his collected works (Basle, 1576). There is little similarity, however, between the two.

¹ *Litteralem expositionem*, p. 212.—For this, as one of many kinds of exposition, see the *Bibliotheca* of Sixtus Senensis (1610), p. 134.

² See, for example, Ch. i. ver. 15; ii. 14; and many others.

³ "Quia meus E., adolescens cui hæc dicto, simul cum theologia lectione incumbit litteraturæ."—p. 222. "Meo Edmundo, eximia verecundia adolescenti, ad cujus instructionem hanc litteralem expositionem aggressus sum."—p. 212.

⁴ See Anstey's *Munimenta Academica* (1868), Introd. p. lxiv. and p. l.; and Mullinger's *University of Cambridge* (1873), p. 346.

dicating one younger and less experienced than this; and we must conclude, therefore, that he was some youthful friend or pupil of Colet's, who was attending these voluntary lectures in Divinity, though he had not as yet determined in Arts.

It is vexatious to have to own, that the same obscurity which surrounds the Radulphus, to whom the Letters on Genesis were written, conceals this Edmundus also from our view. At this distance of time, we should have gladly welcomed a few more of the personal details, of which Colet has been so very sparing. Conjecture is all that, under the circumstances, remains to us; and if I venture to fill in the name as Edmund Knevet, it will be seen that I do so only on the strength of a very slight balance of probability.¹

The chief facts which induce me to think that in Edmund Knevet we have Colet's Edmund, are, that he was a relation of the Dean's, by the mother's side; that he is expressly mentioned in his will; and that he would be of suitable age. In 1519 he was sergeant-porter to Henry the Eighth; and as such was one of Colet's legatees:—"Item. I bequeth to Edmond Knyvet esquier sergeant porter to our souveraine lord the Kyng, fourty pounds in money."² His relationship to Colet will be most conveniently shown by the accompanying pedigree,³ which may also serve to point out, more clearly than has hitherto been done, the connections of Colet's mother, the good Dame Christian. If that pedigree

¹ The reader will not impute this uncertainty to any want of pains on my part, when I inform him that Professor Brewer, after most courteously taking some trouble to enquire, has not been able to find anything by which this Edmund might be identified.

² Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 400.

³ I have drawn it up from the scattered notices in Blomefield's *Norfolk*, i. p. 267, &c., coupled with what is given in Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies* (1844), p. 293, under the heading "Knyvett of Buckenham." There are many difficulties about it. Besides the doubt as to Sir William Knevet, referred to in the note to the Pedigree, there is great confusion as to the one who was drowned in the Regent, off Brest, in August, 1512. Blomefield (i. 257) says it was Edmund Knevet (our Edmund's father), and so it is in a MS. pedigree (Harleian, No. 1529, fol. 110); but Hall distinctly says it was Sir Thomas Knevet, and the same seems proved by Wolsey's letter, in Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII.*, i. p. 409.

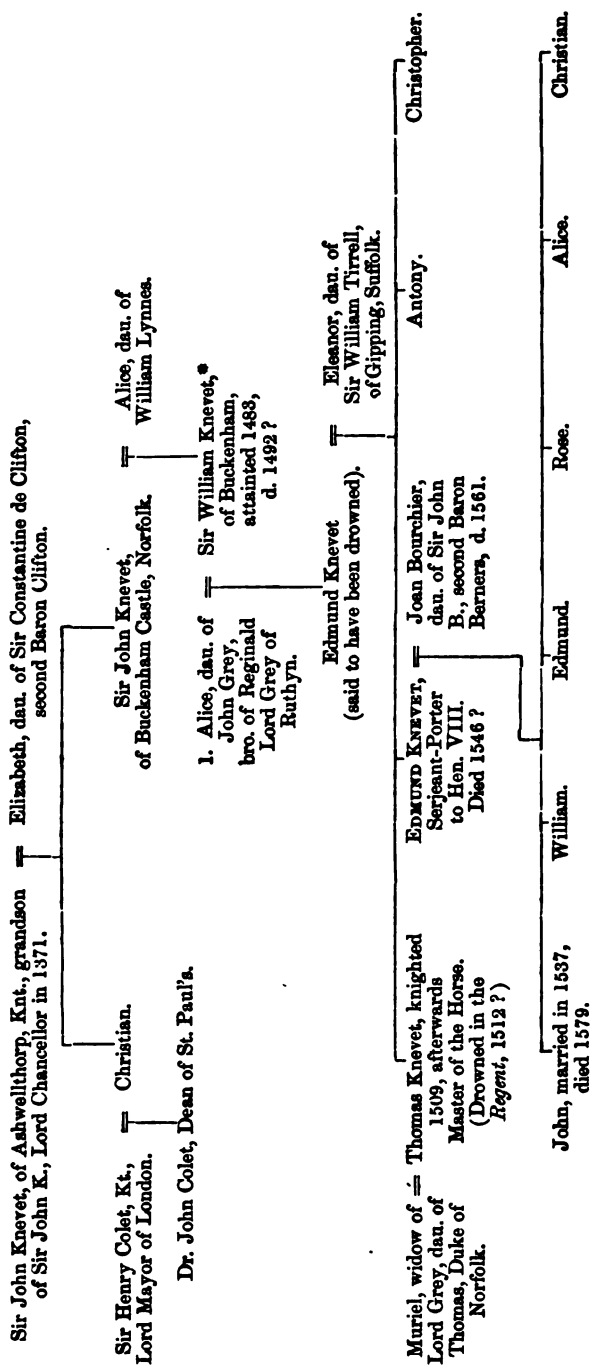
be correct, Edmund Knevet was the grandson of Colet's cousin. If, as some authorities seem to imply, one step too many is inserted in it, he was the *son* of Colet's cousin. In any case, from the particulars given respecting his age, he might very well have been at Oxford, a youth of fourteen or fifteen, at the time when Colet was lecturing there. It may of course be objected that the calling of "serjeant-porter," or chief doorkeeper, to the King, does not lend much presumption in favour of a previous study of Divinity. But, besides the King's well known fondness for having learned men about him, there is one incident which may possibly explain any difficulty on this head. In the year 1512, a Sir Thomas Knevet¹ was drowned, in a gallant engagement with the French, near Brest. If this be the Sir Thomas Knevet, who was elder brother to our Edmund, and heir to the family estates, it might well be that such an event would change the plan of life of the next brother; even though, as in this case, the deceased had left children behind him. One so situated, being now in some measure the head of the family, might easily find the Court open out more tempting prospects than his former profession had done.

But enough has probably been said on what must after all be thought matter of mere conjecture.²

Though professedly designed, at first, for the instruction of a youthful pupil; the commentary, as we now have it, takes a far wider range than would be needed for such a purpose. The only features, in truth, by which we could recognise

¹ "Thomas Chenevettus, vir etiam equestris ordinis, plus animi quam usus habens in re militari, etc."—Polyd. Vergilii *Hist. Angl.* (1651), Lib. xxvii. p. 14.—See also the authorities quoted in the preceding note.

² An Edmundus is mentioned by Erasmus two or three times in letters written when he was in the neighbourhood of St. Omer, after his first visit to England; but I cannot ascertain anything further about him. In one letter, dated 1500, Erasmus asks him to procure some books for him from Adrianus; and in another, shortly after, writes about the return of these books. He calls him "*sacerdos optimus*," and "*Edmundus ut frater dilectus*:" but these are all the particulars that I can discover.—See Erasmi *Epistolæ* (1642), pp. 460-1.



* He married (2) Joan, daughter of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; (3) Joan Courtney, relict of — Clifton. This step is omitted in Burke's *Extinct and Dormant Baronetages* (1844), p. 294, where Sir John Knevet (father of this Sir William) is made the husband of Alice Grey, and father of Edmund Knevet. That this is an error (arising, perhaps, from the double occurrence of the name of Alice) seems certain from the epitaph on "Alicia, quondam uxor Will. Knyvet," in New Buckenham Church, given in Blomefield's *Norfolk*, I. p. 271, and also from the register of the presentation of John Colet to the living of Denington, in 1485, by Sir William Knevet and his wife Joan.

such a design, are the occasional derivations given of hard words, when the expositor, as Colet now and then apologizes for doing, leaves his proper office, to "play the part of a Grammarian."¹ What larger audience listened to the exposition; what Doctors and Abbots and Heads of Houses came to hear it, as we are told they came to hear some of those delivered by Colet; we cannot tell. Certainly, if such auditors sat out the portion we have here remaining, the ears of many of them must have tingled.

Before noticing what may be called the more striking points in the commentary—those passages, I mean, in which he turns from the affairs of the Romans to what seemed parallel to them in his own country,—it will be well to state, as briefly as possible, what forms the staple of his more directly theological interpretation. Those digressions may then appear to be a more natural outcome of his opinions.

He shows, in the first place, a profound conviction of the fallen and lost condition of the human race, as it is by nature. After we have made all allowance for the turn which this portion of the Epistle might naturally give to his thoughts, and for the sombre view of things in general, almost forced on any reflecting mind during the gloomy, plague-stricken years that ended the fifteenth century,—there still remains to be observed what must have been a

¹ *Infra*, p. 81.—The etymology given of *prævaricator* will no doubt be found sufficiently entertaining. But before judging Colet too severely for trusting to Perottus, we should try to recall the extraordinary ignorance, or childish simplicity, shown by his greatest predecessors and contemporaries in the same subject. At the very outset of Aquinas's *Postilla* on Genesis, we have *terra* derived from *tero*, "*quia teritur pedibus*;" *tenebræ* from *teneo* and *umbra*, "*quasi tenens umbram*;" *abyssus* either from *a* and *bissus*, i. e. candor, or from *a* and *basis*, i. e. *fundamentum*, &c. Far more prodigious instances may be seen in Tribbechovius *De Doctoribus Scholasticis* (1719), p. 213.—But indeed, while laughing at all this, we should remember that in the Latin Grammar, used till quite recently in many of our public schools, such derivations were still given as *intra* from *in-traho*, and *ultra* from *ille trahens*!—See *King Edward the Sixth's Latin Grammar* (13th ed., 1859), § 120.

most deeply-rooted conviction, and one which no outward changes could remove, that man, in his natural, unregenerate state, is in darkness, misery, and despair. The self-seeking, the ambition, the pride of will, the vain attempts to redress one evil by another, the want of sympathy and charity, the frivolous pursuits, in short, the *multiplicity* pervading mankind, are topics on which he can scarcely find words strong enough for his thoughts. One favourite comparison with him, is that of men, in this forlorn and erring state, to fishes, roaming at their own will in semi-darkness through the deep.¹

This lost condition is the result of Adam's sin. For "as the whole tree is in the root, or the whole man in the seed, so the entire human race was in Adam; and in him all our nature sinned unto death."²

Out of this fallen state man cannot raise himself. Whoever rises above it, must do so from being uplifted by the power and grace of God. His arm alone "draws them above the waves of the world, to live under better laws in the spirit of God."³ And those who are so drawn from the deep waters, are brought to the shore, not for any merit of their own, but solely through the will of God. "God's will depends not on men, but men depend on His will."⁴ There is nothing in man but the justest cause of death; there is nothing to deserve grace, but only to provoke wrath.⁵ Christ indeed died "for the world at large, otherwise destined to perish eternally," in order that He might "propitiate and appease God, thus made propitious to men, and might render Him, who had been angry, peaceful and favourable."⁶ But, though Christ thus died for all, all are

¹ *Infra*, p. 130.—See also the passages referred to above, p. xxxi. n. 2, and the *Lectures on Romans*, pp. 16, 17.

² *Infra*, p. 156.—Beyond this simile, Colet says nothing as to the way in which Adam's sin affected his posterity; speaking, indeed, very briefly about the subject altogether. He thus avoids all allusion to the conflicting theories of "creationism," "traducianism," and the like: speculations, against which—and not against the fundamental doctrine itself—the satire of Erasmus was directed.

³ Pp. 135-6.

⁴ P. 97.

⁵ P. 126.

⁶ P. 105.

not chosen to share the benefits of that death. "Some are *vessels of wrath*, others are *vessels of mercy*. There is a night and there is a day among men, as God has willed; and of His will there is no reason to be given; but His will is itself all reason."¹

Such being the condition of the world, it follows that all efforts on man's own part to regenerate himself, or to perfect his nature by social ordinances, are utterly vain. The terms in which Colet speaks of the Law of Nature are severe, almost to bitterness. "The law of human nature was one great iniquity; a perverted reason and design; a mother of sin and of all base and hurtful action; and the wages thereof everlasting death."² According to Pelagius, salvation was attainable, both through the law of nature, and the law of Moses, and the law of Grace. According to Colet, the last of these only is a law of life. "Without the co-operation of grace, the efforts of all law are baffled and vain."³ Hence, whatever chosen ones under the Mosaic dispensation were brought into a state of salvation, were so brought through faith alone, by virtue of Christ's redemption, and not through any service, or any ceremonies, of their own.⁴ On this Colet dwells very fully; discussing the nature of the promise made to Abraham, and the character presented in him for our imitation. The same considerations lead him to say a good deal about circumcision, which he explains rather mystically. His great object throughout is to show that "it is not the body which is to be regarded, but the mind; not the corporeal sign, but the mental reality."⁵

It will now be seen, that the somewhat startling digressions, as they might at first appear, in which Colet turns aside now and then to assail the abuses of his own time, are no purposeless deviations, but in strict connection with the line he had marked out. One of the most crying evils of the ecclesiastical system in England then, was the unjust administration of ecclesiastical law. From the days of

¹ P. 101.

² P. 135.

³ P. 162; and also pp. 144, 150.

⁴ Pp. 83, 91.

⁵ P. 83.

Chaucer, whose bitter *Freres Tale* has for its hero a "sompnour"—a "renner up and down" for a master like himself, who "made the people piteously to sing"—down to our own times, the exactions and vexatious delays, if not always the injustice, of the ecclesiastical courts, have been a by-word.¹ To Colet, inclined to disparage the Law of Nature to the utmost extent, and to exalt in a proportionate degree the "divine canonical law,"² as the adaptation to modern requirements of the law of the New Testament, it must have been doubly afflicting, to see that divine law administered, to all appearance, in a spirit not far different from that in which Empson and Dudley were administering the civil laws of the realm. Pontifical law, as contained in the Decretals and the like, had never indeed been accepted in this country. The system of ecclesiastical law in practice, was as much a part of the national laws as any other: the consistory courts were only a department, now kept separate, of the old county courts.³ Colet was therefore scarcely entitled to regard the two as so totally distinct, nay, so mutually conflicting, as he does. But, however this may be, the grievances under which people then suffered, from the exactions of the Probate Court, the vexatious and inquisitorial proceedings of Archdeacons' and Commissaries' courts, and the like, are abundantly testified to;⁴ and something, no doubt, of the extreme bitterness

¹ It is a strange commentary, at once on the stability of institutions in our country, and the slowness of reform, to read, as lately as March 3rd, 1876, of a still prevailing "system of ecclesiastical courts and offices; sinecures, providing large incomes for persons who give no services for their salaries; and charges for the completion of formalities, invented apparently for no other purpose than to justify the exaction of fees."—See the *Standard* newspaper of that date, in an article on the Archbishop of Canterbury's speech on the second reading of the Ecclesiastical Offices and Fees Bill, the day before; and compare it with what is said below, p. 110.

² P. 139.

³ This is shown at length in Bishop Stillingfleet's *Ecclesiastical Cases* (1702), pp. 249 sqq., and 104.

⁴ No better commentary on the subject could be desired, than is presented by a work drawn up for a very different purpose, viz. the late

with which Colet inveighs against them,¹ may have been due to his annoyance at feeling their practice jar so much with his own theory.

That it was rather as a theoretical than a practical reformer that he attacked the abuses of the Court of Probate, and the rest, may be seen from his opinions as to the duty of testators themselves. Many a man would join heartily in the onslaught, who would draw back very suddenly, if required to admit, with Colet, that the provisions of his own last will and testament ought to be entirely at the disposal of the Bishop; for him to alter and amend at his discretion.² Yet this was Colet's opinion. He held that, as Christ expanded and perfected the Old Testament, so should Christ's representatives develope and improve the imperfect testaments of His people. Otherwise, how could our wills be truly *in subjection*? How could we sincerely utter the petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Thy will be done*, if we preferred our own private inclinations, either before death or after, to the truer accomplishment of that will through wiser instruments?³ Nor can any one say that Colet in this respect shrank from carrying out his own principles into practice. Not only did he ask and obtain the Bishop's sanction to divert from the school of his own foundation a bequest of which he did not approve;⁴ but he distinctly left the ordinances of that foundation open to alteration and amendment in the future. However paradoxical⁵ his opinions might seem to others, he managed, in

Archdeacon Hale's *Series of precedents and proceedings in criminal causes, extending from the year 1475 to 1640, extracted from Act Books of Ecclesiastical Courts in the Diocese of London*, 1847. It was composed, chiefly, to prove that our ecclesiastical system of legal discipline was of home, not foreign, growth, and that it was in no way suspended or abolished by the Reformation. But incidentally we see many traces of the angry feelings raised in men's minds by the proceedings of the Church Courts. The case of Richard Hunt (p. 100), may suffice as a single example.—See also Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Time* (ed. 1753), vi. 177.

¹ *Infra*, pp. 144, 162.

² *Infra*, p. 111.

³ Pp. 110-113.

⁴ This is mentioned by Erasmus in his letter to Justus Jonas.

⁵ Colet was quite aware of the impression some of his theories made

some way or other, to act upon them most consistently himself.

One other paradox, a less excusable one, as it may be thought, he was led into by his depreciation of the corrupt Law of Nature. This was, his disparagement of the rights of property. It was the "law of a corrupter nature," he says, "which brought in ideas of *meum* and *tuum*,—of property, that is to say, and deprivation ;—ideas clean contrary to a good and unsophisticated nature: for that would have a community in all things."¹ Yet even here, he may almost seem to have acted up to his theory. His own dress, and manner of living, were of the simplest. "Whatever income he had from his offices in the Church, he left in his steward's hands, to be disbursed for the necessities of his household ; while the fortune he had at his father's death, ample as it was, was all disposed of by himself for charitable purposes."² The blemishes then but too palpable in the monastic system kept him from entering a monastery, and so practising a communism, in one form at least, to the full extent. But he designed to spend his last days within the precincts of the Carthusians at Sheen ; and "used to praise certain Germans," as Erasmus tells us,—the Brethren of the Common Life, it may have been—"among whom he thought there lingered, even yet, the traces of primitive Christianity."³

Communism, in truth, in its purer and better sense, has ever been a dream of lofty minds, from Plato to Chrysostom, from Sir Thomas More to Coleridge. The scene of such a pantisocracy may be shifted from Utopia to the

upon his friends:—"Sed scio," he writes in one place to Erasmus, "non placent tibi ista *paradoxa*." This is in the same letter in which he says that he has no one's money but his own, to dispose of:—"Non adsto morituris, non blandior pecuniosis viduis, non immisceo me in testamentis divitum, non quero familiaritates locupletum, non laudo peccata eorum, non jubeo redimant scelera sua pecuniis arbitrio meo positis."—See the Letter to Erasmus, dated 1513, in Knight's *Colet*, p. 273.

¹ *Infra*, p. 134.

² Erasmus's Letter to Justus Jonas :—*Epistolæ* (ed. 1642), p. 704.

³ *Ib.* p. 706.

Susquehanna, and may be equally visionary in both. But what is incapable of being realized, through the vices and passions of mankind ; what indeed is to be utterly resisted, if made a cover for licentiousness and greed ; is, after all, an angelic type of existence, one to be aimed at in some degree, though we can never expect in this world to attain to it. The great Divines of the Church of England have been in general praised for their soberness ; none more so than Dr. Isaac Barrow. It may save, therefore, any further apology, to point out how the words of Dr. Barrow are almost an echo of Colet's, as his were an echo of St. Chrysostom's. "Inequality and private interest in things," he writes, in a sermon before the Aldermen of London, "together with sickness and pains, together with all other infelicities and inconveniences, were the by-blows of our fall. Sin introduced these degrees and distances ; it devised the names of rich and poor ; it begot these ingrossings and inclosures of things ; it forged those two small pestilent words, *meum* and *tuum*, which have engendered so much strife among men, and created so much mischief in the world."¹

Before leaving this commentary on the *Romans*, one other point must be noticed, the consideration of which has been deferred till now. I mean, the indebtedness of Colet to St. Augustine, and the estimation in which that Father of the Church was held by him. So many conclusions have been drawn from a decision of the question in one particular way, that it is desirable to re-open it, to see if those conclusions be sound. In the way of external evidence, we have a positive statement of Erasmus, as to Colet's opinion of Augustine ; and as all turns on the interpretation of a single word, I shall be obliged to give it in the Latin. Writing of Colet's studies after leaving the University, he says :

¹ The passage will be found, with marginal references to St. Chrysostom and St. Ambrose, at p. 319 of vol. i. of Barrow's *English Works* (1741).—I owe this appropriate illustration of Colet's words to an Essay by a distinguished living author, which I am not yet at liberty to quote.

"Priscis illis potissimum delectabatur, Dionysio, Origene, Cypriano, Hieronymo. Atque inter veteres nulli erat *iniquior* quam Augustino. Neque tamen non legit Scotum, ac Thomam, etc."¹ Now, the first and most obvious meaning to be attached to *iniquior* is undoubtedly that of "unfavourable to." And in this sense it is clearly used in the only other passage of the Letter where it occurs: "Thomæ tamen, nescio qua de causa, *iniquior* erat quam Scoto."² It has been so understood by Smith,³ Knight,⁴ and Müller.⁵ Nor did any one, to my knowledge, doubt the correctness of this, before the late Mr. J. G. Nichols, in his *Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham*.⁶

But I would submit that the run of the sentence points to the statement about Augustine as being a climax, rather than a correction, of what went before. "He read the others much, but Augustine most of all." How far the word will bear such a meaning, is discussed in the note.⁷

But, whichever way this may be decided—and an apology is due to the reader for detaining him with such merely verbal criticism—the undoubted fact remains, that, with the exception of the supposed Dionysius, on whom he wrote a

¹ Letter to Justus Jonas.—To be sure of the words, I quote from the Basle edition of the *Epistola*, 1529 (p. 507).

² Besides this, the form *iniquus* occurs in two other places in the same letter, both times in an unfavourable sense.

³ "He did most disgust St. Augustine."—P. 61 of his *Life*, &c., 1661.

⁴ He had the least relish of all to St. Austin."—*Life*, p. 11.

⁵ "Für keinen von diesen Vätern war er weniger eingenommen, als für den Augustin."—*Leben des Erasmus* (1828), p. 137.

⁶ P. 131.—Nichols renders it "none did he attack oftener than Augustine," and considers that Erasmus "clearly meant to imply that Colet read Augustine more than the other Fathers."

⁷ I was at first disposed to think that, as *æquus* is "impartial," so *iniquus*, its opposite, might be used in the sense of "partial," or "inclined to."—See the *Lectures on Romans*, Introd. p. xxxix. And Cooper, in his old Thesaurus, gives "partiall" as one meaning. But the authority for this seems doubtful; and it may be safer to rely on the acknowledged sense of "disproportionate," "exceeding due measure," as in Virg. *Georg.* I. 164, *Æn.* vii. 227, Val. Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 65, etc.; so that *iniquior*, in the text, would mean "giving a greater share" —of time or attention.

special commentary, Colet cites Augustine more frequently than any other Father, and occasionally in terms of distinct approval.¹

If it should be said that it was natural to turn to St. Augustine, in expounding the *Romans*, the further question arises, whence was Colet's predilection for that Epistle? For it can hardly be by accident, that we have two separate commentaries on the *Romans* extant among his works, and not on any other Epistle of St. Paul.² It was from the same Epistle that he took the text of his Convocation Sermon, and the subject of his letter to the Abbot of Winchcombe.

All this becomes intelligible, if we think of Colet's mind as drawn to the same great topics as are commonly associated with the Epistle to the Romans, with Augustine, and with Luther. The total corruption of human nature since the fall; the utter helplessness of man to raise himself by his own efforts; the accomplishment of such restoration by grace alone; the election by God of those who shall be the objects of that grace; the work of God's grace shown in a justifying faith, not in *deeds of the law*:—these, and kindred doctrines, are prominent in the pages of Colet, and can hardly be called anti-Augustinian.³

¹ He quotes him three times by name in the present *Commentary on Romans* (pp. 93, 112, 125), and twice in the *Lectures on Romans* (pp. 36, 65). In two places he quotes him with the addition of "as Augustine *finely* says" (*præclare dicit*). In the *Right fruitfull Admonition*, the only express quotation made is from the same writer. No other author, I believe, is quoted as many as six times by Colet, in the works of his now extant.

² If the abstracts of the Pauline Epistles in "O. 4. 44," elsewhere referred to, be his, the same preference appears again. For, while there is an epitome of all of them in order, a *second* abstract of the first chapter of the *Romans* is inserted at the end.

³ It is difficult to condense the evidence of this within the compass of a note. But let the reader study what Colet says on the following points:—

(1) The state of mankind since the Fall: *infra*, pp. 33, 126 ("worker of iniquity in the common sewers of the Devil"), 130, 135, 156; *De Sacramentis*, 53, 74; *I. Corinthians*, 121.

(2) Original sin: *infra*, 116 (where the scholastic term *fomes peccati* is used), 133, 157-8.

On some points his views are not so pronounced, as they probably would have been, in one direction or the other, had he outlived the "tragedy of Luther." On some, no doubt, his mental vision was obscured by the mysticism of his favourite Dionysius. Still, on the whole, I think that an impartial survey of his collected writings would show a moderate Augustinism, such as influenced the framers of our seventeenth Article. And in this, as in many other characteristics of his teaching, we may thankfully observe how unbroken is the continuity between him and ourselves; and how his spirit, no less than his sepulchre, "is with us unto this day."

§ 4.—ON THE COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF
ST. PETER.

SOME account of this work has been already given, in the appendix to the *Lectures on Romans*; but it may be as

(3) Its remission in Baptism: *infra*, 116; *De Sacramentis*, 89 ("Infantes baptizati nubeculam originalis injustitiæ adventu luminis habent propulsam, modo quæ secutura est vita sacramento responderit.")

(4) Justification by faith: *infra*, 62, 91, 92, 114, 122, 125, 126.

(5) This faith to show itself in works: *infra*, 53, 107, 118.

(6) Election and Predestination: *infra*, 91, 97, 99, 125 ("The gracious God, that justifieth the ungodly altogether without merits, and of his mere grace and good will makes the sinner righteous with the righteousness of faith"), 126 ("For God has been gracious to sinners, His enemies, of pure spontaneousness, without any merit on their part preceding, or any being expected in the future"); *De Sacramentis*, 62; *Hierarchies*, 149; *Lectures on Romans*, 40, 45; *I. Corinthians*, 28, 89.

At the same time, on this last subject of predestination, the one, perhaps, more than all others associated with the name of Augustine, Colet's language certainly wavers a little. In the *Hierarchies*, for example, when speaking of the freedom of the will, he seems to hold what is called *synergism*:—"that God's assistance concurs with the force of our own will;" and the same appears in the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 38. But later on again in the *Hierarchies* (p. 149), he is more predestinarian. In the *Lectures on Romans* (pp. 6, 34), he inclines to *prevision*. But, while avowing that the subject is one which has a strong attraction for him (*ib.*, p. 47), he more than once closes a discussion of it with a confession of the powerlessness of the human mind to grasp the problems it presents (*ib.*, p. 41; *Hierarchies*, p. 30).

well, for the sake of completeness, to repeat here the chief facts connected with it.

Among the manuscripts forming the "Gale" collection, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there is one¹ which contains an abstract, or summary, of all the Pauline Epistles in order, followed by the present homiletic commentary, or paraphrase, on St. Peter. No author's name is attached to it; but a note on the first leaf, in the hand-writing of its former possessor, Dr. Thomas Gale, High Master of St. Paul's School (1672-1697), and afterwards Dean of York, conveys his opinion that a good part of the contents, at least, was probably the work of Dean Colet. His words are:—

"Videtur esse opus Joannis Coleti Decani Sti. Pauli Lond :

"Multa hic plane eadem sunt cum iis quæ scripsit manu sua Coletus, in libro qui servatur in Capitulari domo Ecclesiæ Sti Pauli: atque adeo hæc sunt quasi secundæ curæ.

"Multa hic parum emendata scribuntur, quo vitio Coletus laborabat. Ea subinde notantur, et corriguntur.

"Ordo Epistolarum Sti. Pauli non est idem hic, qui est in illo altero libro manu Coleti scripto.

"T. G."

To appreciate the value of this opinion, we must remember how well fitted to judge on such a matter Dr. Gale was, being himself the editor of many learned and laborious works; and also what ample means of access he enjoyed to any writings of Colet that might be preserved in the School or Cathedral of St. Paul, being Master of the one, and a Prebendary of the other. Unfortunately, the acknowledged manuscript in Dean Colet's writing, with which Dr. Gale

¹ Numbered "O. 4. 44." It is a thin folio, containing 63 leaves of fine vellum (11½ in. × 8 in.), written in a hand of Queen Elizabeth's time. The initial words and letters are in blue ink. At the beginning are some detached apophthegms; then the abstract of the Epistles, going *backwards* in order, from *Hebrews* to *Romans*; and lastly, this commentary on St. Peter.—The collection is so called, from having been bequeathed by Roger Gale, Esq., eldest son of Dr. Thomas Gale, who died in 1744.

compares the present one, cannot now be discovered ;¹ and we have thus no means of verifying the comparison.

The first to call in question the correctness of Dr. Gale's opinion was Mr. Seeböhm, in the *Oxford Reformers* (p. 33 n.) He thinks that certain verbal coincidences, between passages in the various summaries and the *Annotationes* of Erasmus, point to a writer later than Colet. Without seeking to enter now on any debateable topics, I may briefly say, that there seems no proof of the writer's having used, of necessity, a later edition than the first. And as the first edition of Erasmus's work appeared in 1516, it is quite possible that Colet, who died in 1519, might refer to the *Annotationes*, and incorporate some extracts from them in his own notes. There are certainly some striking points of resemblance between these abstracts and passages in the undoubted compositions of Dean Colet.² At the same time they are in many instances such mere outlines, that there is but little to decide upon, one way or the other. Hence it did not appear worth while to print them. The paraphrase on St. Peter, on the other hand, is at any rate complete ; and may be thought not devoid of interest, even if it should be decisively pronounced to be not Colet's.

On this question, the reader will form his own judgment. A few points of likeness and unlikeness may be briefly indicated, as a help to the formation of such a judgment.

There is, on the one hand, a certain resemblance of tone ; in those passages of the commentary, more especially, where the nature of this present life is spoken of. After reading the description of man's fallen state, given in the opening sentences of the *De Corpore Christi Mystico*, and elsewhere in Colet's writings, we seem to recognize the same strain in such expressions as "ut vivatis hac vita corporali, caduca et defluenti" (p. 289) ; "inter tenebrosas [gentes] lucidi ; inter

¹ See the *De Sacramentis*, p. 3 n.

² One such deserves mentioning here, as bearing on the statement of Erasmus as to Colet's study of Plotinus. Among the apophthegms at the beginning is this :—"Nisi poterit homo dicere secum, Ego solus et Deus in mundo sum, non habebit requiem." This is surely an echo of Plotinus's *Φυγή μόνον πρὸς μόνον* :—Enn. vi. 9.

caducos et labentes in peccata, firmi et stabiles in gratia Dei" (p. 291); "*luculenta charitate*" (p. 288).—The turn of the sentence in "*regatis eos pastoraliter, et pascatis regaliter*" (p. 301),¹ is also quite in Colet's manner. Lastly, the extreme austerity of the view taken of the married state (p. 294), may be thought quite in keeping with what Colet has elsewhere expressed.²

On the other hand, there is something about the general style and manner, that causes this commentary to read very differently from anything else which Colet has written. In the first place, it is much more uniform and fluent. A mere glance at the marginal texts will show how evenly and regularly the author goes on, paraphrasing each verse as it comes, leaving out little and inserting less.³ We miss altogether the long digressions in which Colet now and then indulges; we miss the quotations from ancient writers; above all, we miss the vehement denunciations into which Colet, like another Savonarola, every now and again breaks out, as the words he is commenting on recall to his mind the picture of the Church in his own day.

In his choice of words, moreover, the writer goes lower down the stream of Latinity than I think Colet would have done. I should doubt whether Colet would have used terms like "*cespitis*"⁴ (p. 290), "*horatim*" (p. 299), "*rejecticii*" (286).

But, above all, there is such a free use made of the *Annotationes* of Erasmus, that it seems quite clear that the writer based his own interpretation on that work.

Thus *discoli*, "the froward" (p. 292), is explained as equivalent to "*pravi et asperi et rigidiores*." This is Eras-

¹ With which compare the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 69, n. 3.

² See the *De Sacramentis*, pp. 75-6.

³ The only striking omission is that of the last verse but one in the Epistle, with its mention of Babylon and Marcus.

⁴ *Cespitare* is defined by Maigne D'Arnis as "*cadere, offendere; præsertim dicitur de equo offensatore qui cespiti pedem impingit*."—*Lexicon Manuale*, 1866.—It will be noticed that I have left the spelling of the original as much as possible undisturbed, retaining even *noscebit* (= *nocebit*), p. 295.

mus's definition : "id est, sed etiam *pravis*, sive *asperis*." The gloss in de Lyra, on the contrary, makes the latter part of the word to be *schola*, and the sense to be that of "unschooled," "undisciplined." The precept in III. 15, 16 is paraphrased by the writer : "evestigio respondeatis talibus sciscitantibus ; sed *mansuete*, sed *reverenter*, sed *humiliter*." Erasmus's note is : "Cum *mansuetudine* et *reverentia*. Loquitur enim de his qui placide respondent ac *reverenter*, interrogati quibuslibet de fide Christi." It would be tedious to set down every passage in full. But let the reader compare for himself such points of interpretation as *affabiles* (iii. 8), *induerunt patientiam* (iv. 1), *exploratio* (iv. 13), *in hac parte* (iv. 16), *prospicite de rebus necessariis* (v. 1, 2), *dominium adversus cleros* (v. 3), and the plural *formæ* (*ib.*)—with the corresponding notes in the *Annotationes* ; and I think he cannot fail to conclude that the writer drew largely from that source.¹

The rhetorical repetitions, occurring here and there, remind us somewhat of the style of Bishop Longland ; who in the preface to one of his volumes of sermons, admits and justifies this peculiarity of style.² But, apart from other considerations, the vehemence and prolixity of Longland make it all but impossible that this commentary should have been written or delivered by him.

Whose ever it may prove to be—and some one with wider range of knowledge may easily show my ignorance, by re-

¹ The edition of the *Annotationes* here referred to is that of 1535.—It may possibly be said that I am only using Mr. Seebohm's argument over again (see *ante*, p. xlix.), and allowing it to weigh in this instance, though not in the other. But my point is, that the traces of recourse to Erasmus in the Pauline abstracts in "O. 4. 44," are comparatively few and inconclusive ; while in the case of the present commentary they are numerous and palpable. At the same time, even as regards those abstracts, I should hardly like to speak so confidently now as I did in the appendix to the *Lectures on Romans*.

² What is meant will be perceived by comparing such sentences as "*deponite dolum et fraudem, deponite omnem simulationem*, etc." (p. 289), with sentences like "*nam corporales oculi nostri sunt tota luxuria nostra, sunt tota ruina nostra, sunt omnis occasio peccati*, etc." f. 39 vers. of *Sermones Ioannis Longlondi*, 1518.—A little search would easily furnish better examples ; but this may suffice.

ferring it to its proper author,—the reader will not grudge to have had a little more than the true Colet given him, rather than a little less. That the border round the portrait should be too large, is perhaps a more excusable fault, than that the portrait itself should be incomplete.





LETTERS TO RADULPHUS ON
GENESIS I.





LETTER I.

I OWN that I marvel at you, my good friend Ralph,¹ for lighting so suddenly on the Fourth Chapter of Genesis, when it was your intention, in searching out the obscure passages in Holy Scripture, to start with the beginning of the Bible. Your first question is about the words used of Lamech,² while you have passed over the first three Chapters utterly untouched.

Now to me the obscurity in those three Chapters seems so great, that the whole account contained in them appears to be that *deep*, upon the face of which Moses says that there was *darkness*: a *deep* in truth past searching out, and a darkness that cannot be dispelled; unless the same God, who dispelled the darkness of that deep when the light arose, bestow upon us some illumination from his own Intelligence, and dispel also the dense clouds of this Mosaic account. For all things in it are so hidden, as to furnish matter for opinions and words without end; and there is hardly any one but may say what he will thereupon, so long as what he says is consistent with itself. But this result of self-consistency will be more easily attained, than that of harmony with the words of Moses; unless the one who is discussing the beginning of Genesis is versed in the Hebrew tongue, and has had the means of consulting Hebrew commentaries.³ For without the help of this, I suppose that

¹ The question of who this Radulphus was, has been discussed in the Introduction.

² Gen. *iv.* 23.—The “obscure and enigmatical character” of the speech of Lamech is confessed by the most recent expositors, as freely as by De Lyra. The note in the *Speaker's Commentary* is an apt illustration of the incident here mentioned.

³ This indicates the line Colet was prepared to take, years before the

the Mosaic records can be understood by no one. It is a resource with which Origen, and Jerome, and all the most careful investigators of Holy Writ, were well acquainted.

However, let us not be deterred by this perplexing and troublesome obscurity, but begin at the very commencement, and follow the course of events.—Unless, to be sure, it chance that some one has unexpectedly made clear to you what I call very obscure: supposing which to be the case, you will of course bestow some of your enlightenment on me. And by way of dealing more liberally with you, than you are doing with me, I will give you a sample of my own conception of those opening words of Moses, from *In the beginning*, as far as to the sentence, *And the evening and the morning were the first day*.

Gen. i. 1.
1b. ver. 5.

I am not ignorant that there are several senses;¹ but I will briefly follow out only one of them.

Now, in the first place, I conceive that we have related in epitome, within the compass of the above passage, the creation of the entire universe; and also the fact that God created all things at once in His own eternity. This is a measure of wider extent than all time, and yet withal more self-contained than even a point of time.² In eternity, therefore, God created all things. Now seeing that eternity admits of no subdivision, what prevents us from saying (as Philo Judæus³ affirms Moses to have meant), that the uni-

Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum were written, or Erasmus had ridiculed the current maxim, “fuge literas Hebræas, ne fias Judæorum similis.”—See his *Adagia* (ed. 1629), p. 705.

¹ On this subject, see the *Oxford Reformers*, p. 121.

² As time is a measure of motion, so eternity is of motionless being. Thus Aquinas: “Sicut æternitas est propria mensura ipsius esse permanentis, ita tempus est propria mensura motus.”—*Summa, Pars I. Qu. x. Art. iv.* As the circumference of the farthest heaven included all local spaces, so eternity included all spaces of time. Being indivisible, moreover, it might in so far be compared to a point:—“Æternitas est mensura simplex, et absolute indivisibilis, ita ut in illa nullum sit prius, aut posterius, sed est tota simul, quasi immensa quædam et infinita indivisibilitas.”—See Barlow, *Exercitationes Metaphysicæ*, 1658, p. 200.

³ Philo's opinions on the subject are somewhat contradictory; partly from the vague way in which he speaks of the existence of matter, and partly from the distinction between eternity and perpetuity (to which

verse is eternal?—But of this hereafter. For the present, let me state the matter thus:—Inasmuch as the universe was created in *eternity*, which is the first measure, one and undivided; and inasmuch as it consists of the first principles,—namely, *matter* and *form*; ¹ it was the design of Moses to express in brief the general union of form with matter, and the fact of its taking place in a single and undivided *instant* of time: I mean, in eternity, which is earlier and more remote than time.

Hence his opening words are: *In the beginning*, that is, in eternity, *God created the heaven* (form) *and the earth* (matter). Now matter never existed apart from form. But, that a sequence of events might be conveyed, he adds: *And the earth* (matter) *was without form, and void*: that is, ver. 2. without any solid and substantial existence; *and darkness was upon the face of the deep*: that is, matter was in darkness, and devoid of life and being. Then there follows: *And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*.

Mark how admirably he proceeds in order, in expressing the summary of creation, and the uniting of form with matter. By *water* he implies the unstable and ever-shifting nature of matter.² For consistence arises from form; its

Colet afterwards refers), not being always borne in mind. But in his treatise, *Quod Mundus sit incorruptibilis*, after discussing the three opinions, (1) that the universe is strictly eternal), (2) that it has both beginning and end, (3) that it has beginning but no end: he plainly declares the last of these to be what he himself adhered to, as well as what Moses taught.—See Philonis *Op.* (ed. 1613), p. 729; as also the treatise, *De Mundi Opificio*, sub fin.; and Freigii *Questiones Physicæ* (1579), p. 40.

¹ These, with their complement, *privation*, are the well-known principles laid down by Aristotle in his *De naturali auscultatione*, and which enter so largely into later systems of philosophy. Colet often refers to them, as in the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 43; *Lectures on I. Cor.*, p. 138, &c. The wide extent of meaning in which *form* was used, should be borne in mind. Thus Ficino explains, at the close of his *Prædicationes*, that “*gravitas autem levitasque et calor et frigus formæ sunt*.”—*Op.* (ed. 1576), I. 493.

² “Quo circa congruentius *aquæ* nomine appellaretur materies, cum subdita operi artificis insinuaretur, propter mobilitatem et conversionem in quæque nascentium corpora, quam nomine *aeris*, in quo sola mobilitas posset animadverti.”—August. *De Genesi ad literam*, iv. 14.

opposite, from matter. And it was to check and put limits to this unsettled state, that God breathed upon the inconstant matter. This is the meaning of the words: *And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters*. What else in this Divine breathing, than an expression of being, and goodness, and form, and light?—words which all denote the same thing. This is what Moses calls *light*. Accordingly, after making mention of the Divine inspiration, and
 ver. 3. breathing upon matter, he continues: *And God said, Let there be light*—that is, form and definition of things: *And there was light*. There arose at once a clear *formation* of all things, and of the whole universe; which either dispelled or covered the pitchy darkness of matter. And when God saw this form, *that it was good*, in keeping with the nature of God's goodness and being, He *divided the light from the darkness*; that is, existence from non-existence. Then began the total of existence to appear, beneath the hand of its creator, God; and darkness, which is nothing, and evil, which itself is nothing,¹ to disappear.

And God called the light Day; that is, a manifestation and true display of being and form. For *day* is really nothing else than diffused light: and he had just before called form by the name of light.—*And the darkness He called Night*. So that you may make the terms exactly correlative. For if form can be denominated *light* and *day*, then matter, which is destitute of form and being, may be suitably called *night*; the black nature of which is clearly marked off from bright form.

Lastly, to show that all, including the general union of form with matter, took place in one undivided instant, namely, in eternity; he adds: *And the evening and the morning were the first day*. That is to say, the time and measure of the whole creation is eternity; in which every time is one undivided time: every day is *one day*.² In

¹ This was the Dionysian theory. See the *De divinis nominibus*, iv. 21.—“Quin ne rebus quidem inest malum. Nam si res omnes sint ex bono, omnibus insit bonum, omniaque contineat, malum utique vel non erit in rebus, vel in bono erit.”—See also the *Hierarchies*, p. xlvii.

² The point of this will be better seen, if the reading of the Vulgate

speaking of *the evening and the morning*, he is continuing the analogy: so that you must refer *the evening* to matter, *the morning* to form.¹

Thus, friend Ralph, you have in outline my thoughts on that first passage in Genesis. What follows, is only a repetition and fuller expansion by Moses of what went before; and a particular distinction of the objects first included under general terms. If you think otherwise, pray share your opinions with me. Farewell.

LETTER II.

A FEW words on the remaining days, agreeably to the parting request of your letter.

Moses has been making mention of *matter* and *form*.—Of these elements all beings consist; even the very angels, and the intelligible essences that are nearest to God.² The fact of matter being an element in their nature is the cause

be kept in mind: *factumque est vespere et mane, dies unus*; or, as it is in the Douay version: *and there was evening and morning one day*.

¹ A similar application is made by Alexander Gil (Milton's schoolmaster), in his *Sacred Philosophie*, 1635, I. p. 85, where he speaks of the "six *Evenings* of the being of things, first *potentially*, in their immediate or next causes," and then of the "*Mornings* of their *actual* and perfect being."

² In the *Summa* of Aquinas, Pars-I. Qu. 50, Art. 2, the question is discussed "*utrum angelus sit compositus ex materia et forma*," and decided by him in the negative. As a supporter of the opposite opinion (which Colet may seem to have held), he cites Avicbron, in the *Fons Vitæ*. It was one of the endless logomachies of the age. For, if matter were identified with potentiality, then both sides were agreed. "En général,—so M. Munk represents Avicbron as saying—"les choses inférieures sont l'image des choses supérieures, et il sera démontré que les substances purement intelligibles sont, comme la substance de la corporéité, composées de *matière* et de *forme*." But then, as it is noted elsewhere, "*la matière n'est que la faculté d'être, une chose en puissance*."—See p. 189, and p. 3, n., of *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe*, par S. Munk (1857).—For my first acquaintance with Munk's account of Avicbron (i. e. Ibn-Gebirol), I am indebted to Lewes: *Hist. of Philosophy* (1871), II. 63.

of their potential existence. For what else is matter than potentiality? Again, what is there utterly devoid of potentiality, saving God alone, who is complete actuality?¹ But as for all other things whatsoever, seeing that they consist in a manner of the actual and the potential, they must needs consist in some measure of the dregs of matter. Hence the universal brightness, or *form*, infused into the abyss of darkness, is somewhat impaired, even in its purest region, by the blackness of that darkness and matter; whilst, as I said, every single object that exists (with the exception of God alone, who does not *exist*, but is exalted far above existence),² consists of the pure and the impure, the actual and potential, of flux and permanence, of ceaseless motion and rest; that is, of matter and form.

Well then, after making mention of this common condition of all things; and showing that, in the undivided measure of eternity, dark matter had been everywhere illumined; and after speaking of form and matter in brief and general terms; Moses now proceeds in due order to deal with particular objects, and set before us the arrangement of the universe in detail.

And he does this in such a way, in my opinion, that we may perceive him to have had regard to popular conceptions, and to the uneducated multitude whom he taught. For, in the first place, he keeps on one side things divine, which are beyond the cognizance of popular opinions. He keeps them apart, I say, from the objects of sense; intending to speak, in a cursory and superficial manner, of those things only which are open to the view. His object is, to inform an uninstructed people about the order of the more conspicuous objects before their eyes; that he may teach

¹ Lat. *plenus actus*: otherwise *purus actus*, "pure act," or energy. See Aquinas, *ut sup.*, Pars I. Qu. 3, "Ostensum est autem, quod Deus est purus actus, non habens aliquid de potentialitate;" and also his *Contra Gent.* I. c. 16.

² Deus enim non quovis modo est ens, sed simpliciter et infinite totum esse in se pariter complexus et anticipans."—Dionys. *Div. Nom.* V. 4.—And in like manner his paraphraser, Pachymeres: "*Qui est, id est, Deus, secundum oraculum Mosaicum, est supra ipsummet esse.*" The same statement is repeated in various forms by Aquinas.

men what they themselves also are, and to what end they were born.¹ By this means he hoped to lead them the more easily, at a later time, to a more civilized life, and to the worship of God: which was the great end of Moses in writing. This may be clearly perceived from the fact of his passing over the less palpable objects, even among the objects of sense; for instance, air and fire. He was afraid to speak of aught but the things most obvious to sight, such as earth and sea; plants, animals, and men; the sun and the moon among stars; great whales among fishes:—that so, by attending to objects of daily observation, which minister to the life and service of man, men might learn in some degree what their own position was.

And thus, when the great and wise Moses was meaning to teach a foolish multitude what to think about the more obvious and familiar objects, he briefly relates the enlightening and *informing* of matter in common; how it was done in the one and undivided measure of eternity; and then, mindful of his purpose, he comes down to those composite bodies which are most conspicuous; and begins with the *firmament*, afterwards called *heaven*, in these words:—And God said, *Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters.*—The firmament and heaven had been made first of all, in the day which he calls *first*. But it was the design of Moses to touch on these more conspicuous objects afterwards in detail. And he does this after the manner of some popular poet,² that he may the better study the spirit

¹ How *modern* Colet is in his tone of thought on many subjects, has been remarked in the Introduction.—Compare, for example, the present passage with Pritchard's *Modern Science and Natural Religion* (1874), p. 19.

² Colet again uses this expression of Moses; assigning the authorship of it, in one place, to Origen. But the language employed, "*quo magis consulat spiritui simplicis rusticitatis*," seems to show that in this passage he had his eye upon Philo's expression in the *Liber I. Legis Allegoriarum*: "*Rusticanæ simplicitatis est putare, sex diebus, aut utique certo tempore mundum conditum.*"—So also in the *De Mundi Opificio*: "*Non quod temporis spatio opus habuerit conditor. Deum enim non jussu solum, verum et cogitatu operari creditur. Sed quoniam opus erat res creari quodam ordine: ordini autem numerus est proprius.*"—Ed. 1613, p. 31 and p. 2.

of simple-minded rustics; imagining a succession of events, and works, and times, such as could by no means find place with so great an Artificer.

But I must return to the context.

Let me first however divide the whole universe, as is done by the Platonist Mirandola in his *Hexameron*, into four worlds.¹ The first of these is God himself, the World of worlds; and this I call the *divine* world. The second is the *angelic*, consisting of the bright choir of angels. The third is the *heavenly*, composed of the everlasting orbs. The fourth and last is this world inhabited by men; the whole region contained beneath the orbit of the Moon, which may be termed the *earthly* world.

These four worlds, like the four elements, are linked together by a kind of interconnexion and community of condition; as plainly appears when they are thus set down:—

The Divine world—Immoveable—Eternal.

The Angelic world—Eternal—Moveable.

The Heavenly world—Sensible—Eternal.

The Earthly world—Sensible—Corruptible.

Now motion, sense, and corruption, arise from participation in matter. And therefore God, the first of the four worlds, being incorruptible, inaccessible to sense, and utterly immoveable, is altogether devoid of matter. But the remaining worlds, in proportion to the amount of their potentiality and receptivity, have an admixture of base matter.

You remember, Ralph, that I said, in my previous letter, that the nature of matter was fluid, in ceaseless flux and motion, and with difficulty kept in bounds by form; so opposed is it by its own nature to consistence and stability. On account of this variable condition and tendency, Moses would have it denoted by the name of *waters*.² For waters

¹ The four terms of Mirandola's division do not exactly correspond to those in the text. His first, or highest, world is the *angelic* (or, in philosophic language, the *intellectual*); his second, the *celestial*; his third, the *sublunary*; while his fourth is *man* himself, the *microcosm*.—See the *Prefatio ad Lectorem* of his *Heptaplus* (*Op.* 1601), p. 5.

² See note above, p. 5.

are ever in a flux, and submit to no limitation. And therefore, seeing that in every world below the first, which is God Himself, there is more or less of matter and potentiality, it follows of necessity that in every place and in every world there should be *waters*; and that all things below God should be in a manner liquid, and flowing away of their own proper nature into nothingness, unless stayed by the One who is the essence of solidity, and the true limit, God Himself. I except not even the very angels. For, if we are to believe Origen,¹ they are not immortal of their own proper nature; seeing that immortality is from God alone, bestowed on some for a certain time, on others for ever. If then everything that exists, exists through the goodness of God; and if, in its inmost nature, it is frail, flowing, and perishable; resembling water, in finding no place of rest through any proper boundary of its own:—it follows that we can use an apt metaphor, in calling all things but God, *waters*.

Now there are waters both above the firmament, and under the firmament, and also in the firmament itself. But inasmuch as the firmament, being eternal and sensible, holds a middle place between those widely separated natures; I mean, the eternal and insensible, and the sensible and mortal; therefore Moses wrote: *And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters*:—divide, that is to say, those super-celestial waters and angelic natures,² of their own nature corruptible, but by God's goodness eternal, from these waters under the heaven, which are fluid and corruptible. ver. 6.

¹ The reference seems to be to Origen's remarks on I. Tim. vi. 16 ("Who only hath immortality"), in his *Comment. in Joannem*, II. § 12:—"Nam si inseparabilem habeat beatitudinem [omne quicquid dixeris rationis capax] et præcipuam vitam, quomodo verum erit illud quod de Deo dicitur, *Qui solus, etc.*"?—*Op.* ed. 1759, iv. p. 71.

² Mirandola so interprets the *waters above the firmament* in his *Heptaplus*, III. 3:—"Suprema hierarchia cum, ut scribit ille (Dionysius), soli vacet contemplationi, merito per aquas figurata est, quæ super cælos, id est, super omnem circa mundana sivi cælestia sive terrena actionem sunt constitutæ, et Deum perenni sono indesinenter laudant."—In the *Sylva Allegoriarum*, strange to say, this finds no place, among the multitude of fanciful applications of *Aquæ* there given.

ver. 7. *And God made the firmament.*—It was made before. But that untaught, unfed multitude had to be instructed roughly, and in the lump.¹

How plainly the rest follows on in order, so as to need no explanation, you now perceive.

ver. 8. But with regard to the expression, *And the evening and the morning were the second day.*—I would not have you think that I am always taking refuge in the assertion, that Moses affected a homely and popular way with his people, and invented a succession of days in God's work, as though it were the work of man; that he might seem mindful of the uncultivated nature of those poor people, but lately occupied among the bricks and clay. I would not have you think, I say, that I am always taking shelter in this, or forgetting that you are no Hebrew clodhopper, but a most accomplished philosopher. And so I will bring forward a somewhat less superficial suggestion touching these words; that so, at any rate, the first and second parts of my account, and in fact the whole of it, may hang together. Wherefore listen with patience, though it be to something new;—if there be any new thing under the sun; and suffer me, though we be *old bottles*, to pour in some *new wine*. I for my part will keep myself from bursting. But if you burst under this new vintage of mine,—why then I fear you are an old cask, and smell musty. However, pray hear what this *second day* is.

Matt. ix.
17.

It is in fact, according to my view, *eternal time*; which comes second in order after absolute eternity. For as eternity is all time united, so eternal time is eternity resolved.² And as eternity, called by Moses *the first day*, is

¹ There is a touch of humour in the wording of the original:—"Sed crassiter et pingue docenda fuit stulta illa et macra multitudo." The same absence of any reverence for the Jew, as such, appears in the expression "lutulentum Hebræum," used just afterwards.

² Or *perpetuity*, as distinguished from *eternity* proper; which last is an attribute of God alone. The difference between the two is treated of towards the end of Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophica*; where it is laid down that *eternity* "is a full and perfect possession of the whole of everlasting life *at once* and *altogether*," while the other is a "gradual progression through a life of infinite duration."—The *first*

the measure of the divine work, summarily embraced by him in the beginning of his account; so eternal time, called the *second day*, is the measure of that work affecting the heavens, touched upon in the second part of his account. This latter is the *day* of the firmament, as eternity is the *day* of the epitome of the work, or creation of God. On which account, after speaking of the creation of the firmament, Moses adds a second measurement to this second work, as he had before added the first measurement to the first work; that he may employ the proper measure adapted to it.

God and the angelic nature are measured by eternity. Time takes its beginning with the heaven.¹ And so eternity applies to the eternal, as time to the temporal. Moreover, to the first temporal work the first time applies, which is eternal time; a kind of unfolding of eternity, just as the heaven and the visible world are an unfolding of the earlier and invisible world.

That we may assign, therefore, what is appropriate to each, just as eternity befits the intelligible world, so does eternal time the sensible. And hence, if to God and his instantaneous creation eternity is to be assigned, why should we not allot eternal time to the heaven and its construction? For this is second in order after eternity. And in writing of heaven, Moses judiciously calls it the *second day*; as before, when treating of the divine creation, he termed eternity the *first day*.

Thus you have the *new wine* I spoke of—keep it in, if you can,—and a complete account of the *second day*. About Lamech I shall have something to say presently, when I have rested a little from the fatigue of writing. Farewell.

day (or *one day*) of Moses was therefore, according to Colet's interpretation, the true and proper *eternity* of God; which might therefore be termed a point or instant, as being a universal *now*: while the *second day* was that resolution of eternity, or "infinite *progress* of temporal things," in which there is a past, present, and future.—See the *De Consolatione* (ed. 1498), p. 89, and Causton's translation (1730), p. 155.

¹ In principie itaque *temporis* cælum et terram Deus fecit. Tempus enim ab hoc mundo, non ante mundum.—S. Ambrosii *Hexameron*, vi. § 20.

LETTER III.

LET us now advance in due course to the third day ; not forgetting that Moses never forgot his purpose in this opening scene and description of the universe : which was, while observing the order of events, to study at the same time the mental powers of an ill-instructed people. Whence it followed, that he touched upon no other parts of the universe, than those which are most ordinarily noticed by a race but low in the scale of humanity ; and treated of those in such a way only, as he thought adapted to their capacity. Since, therefore, common country people, as they turn their eyes hither and thither, observe nothing beyond the heaven above them ; and, on this lower level, the land and water ; and such things again as spring from land and water, or live in them ; as soon as Moses has declared at the outset the creation of heaven, he proceeds, as required by the order of events, to the two remaining elements, water and earth. These are the only two esteemed by the vulgar as elements ; since air and fire,¹ from their eluding the outward senses, are not perceived by them to intervene between sky and sea. And now, though all things beneath the sphere of the moon may be called *water*, on account of the flux and instability of matter, and in fact were so called by Moses but a little before, when saying that the firmament *divided the waters from the waters* ; yet now, I say, at this third stage, when he is approaching step by step to the things most known and familiar to man, he

¹ Four elements only are here reckoned. A little later on, a fifth is added, namely, Ether. As the motion of terrestrial fire is vertical, but that of the outermost envelope of the universe is circular, this latter, or celestial substance, was made by some philosophers a fifth element. Thus Aristotle, *De Cælo*, I. 3 (ed. 1607, vol. II. p. 601) : " Quapropter, tanquam altero quodam existente primo corpore, præter terram et ignem et aerem et aquam, æthera appellaverunt supremum locum."—See Zeller's *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* (tr. by Reichel), p. 190 ; and Grote's *Aristotle*, II. p. 392.

purposely uses the term *waters* in its customary signification; his whole care being that the things described should not outstrip the conceptions of the vulgar, nor his words improperly outstrip the things described.

He relates, accordingly, that God said: *Let the waters* ver. 9.
under the heaven be gathered together unto one place.—This we must doubtless understand of the watery sphere,¹ which by its nature encircles and encompasses the earth's sphere, but at the divine behest draws back and checks itself, that a portion of the land may emerge, for the life of those creatures that are born to seek their sustenance from the earth. Therefore he adds: *and let the dry land appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth.*

ver. 10.

Observe how Moses deals with the subjects which but recently, when speaking of them *in general*, he had called by the common appellation of *waters*. Now that he is treating of the same objects *in particular*, he calls each of them by its own proper name; to wit, the dry fluid, *earth*; the moist fluid, *water*; and so in succession with the various fluid natures inhabiting earth and water: each of them is denoted by its proper term: while at the same time they might all collectively be designated *waters*, with the greatest propriety, on account of their ceaseless flux. Nor does the expression of Moses about *the waters being divided from the waters*, imply anything else, than that the heaven, as a kind of interposing mean, divides the creatures above the heaven from those beneath. All of these are subject to flux and mutation, save when upheld by constancy itself, even God.

And God saw that it was good.—For it is from the good that good comes; and what comes from the good is good; and whatever is from God is good, for He is Goodness itself.

He adds: *Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yield-* ver. 11.
ing seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth.—This is plain enough; yet the order must be attended to, on account of what will follow as the works of creation on the fourth day.

¹ See the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, pp. 128-9.

It must also be remarked, that all things, to which God gave birth, came forth prolific and fertile from God himself. For in fact God is the very principle of fecundity, and from him all fecundity and power of propagating is derived. The nearer in order any beings are to God, the greater and fuller is this power in them.¹ In God is the greatest and amplest fecundity of all. I pass over the angelic natures, which are more prolific than any corporeal nature. But among corporeal things, the nearer any are by nature to the fountain-head (such as the elements and the heaven), the fuller they naturally are of conceptive power, and the greater their productiveness. For these, which give birth to all the rest, have derived, together with their own origin, seminal principles from the Sower and Planter, God, even as the female does after impregnation. God, who is greatest and best, and the fullness of all things, contained all in Himself (that we may observe due order), before he had diffused them abroad. It was inevitable, therefore, that in the bosom and embrace of so great and so fruitful a Progenitor, the female embraced, so to speak (namely Matter), should be let go from the Father of all, teeming with every kind of increase, and should bring with her the seeds of all things, called by philosophers *seminal principles*.²

Although it is true that all things were begotten at once, yet order requires that, both in the corporeal and the incorporeal, there should be some things born first, and then others in succession from them. The incorporeal indeed I uniformly omit, after the example of Moses, whom I am now endeavouring to handle. But the first-born among things

¹ Colet's mind was full of this idea, blending, as it did so easily, with that of the Dionysian emanations.—See the Intro. to his *Lectures on I. Corinth.*, p. xvii.

² *Rationes seminales*,—the λόγοι σπέρματικοί, “generative forces,” or “principles of generation,” of the Stoics; on which see Zeller's *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* (tr. by Reichel), p. 163, and the illustrative passages in Lipsius's *Physiologia Stoicorum*, III. 3. The familiar words of Ovid (*Met.* I. 80) may occur to the reader as illustrative of the text:—

“Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cæli.”

corporeal, the branches nearer the root in the tree of the universe, the objects in closer relationship, as sons, to their first parent God, in the family of creation,—are the simple bodies:¹ Ether, Fire, Air, Water, Earth. Among these also there is an orderly gradation of descent. What I am about to say is tedious for you to listen to: still, I will express my opinions. I say, then, that, since fire is born of ether, air of fire, water of air, and earth again of water, I am of opinion that the latest born must be greatly degenerated, and fallen many degrees below the level of its first progenitor. And in this descent, since all go on producing an inferior copy of their pattern, it is inevitable that there should be an ever degenerating series.² Hence, the later in the scale of birth anything is, the more difficulty does it find in itself becoming a parent in turn, and the fewer and poorer are its offspring.

Now since the earth holds the last place among simple bodies, even though it is productive of many things, yet it is much less prolific than the higher elements; being both far longer in gestation, and slower in parturition, and finally having more difficulty in supporting its offspring. For the latter, through the infirmity of their nature, are constantly perishing, and need support, and require renewal. Hence arises the succession of earth's offspring, and the yearly repeated birth of the plants that grow upon her. In the ether, and the heaven, this is by no means the case; for what is once born in it, abides for ever, by reason of the innate force of the parent heaven.

¹ Or *elements*:—see note above, p. 14.

² This idea of a gradual degeneracy, or deterioration, which Colet often reverts to, may perhaps have been suggested by the last chapter of the *Timæus*. In Plato's cosmogony, "the first stage, and the least amount of degeneracy, was exhibited in the formation of woman, the original type of man not having included diversity of sex. By farther steps of degradation, in different ways, the inferior animals were formed—birds, quadrupeds, and fishes."—Grote's *Aristotle* (1872), II. 173. As Grote elsewhere says, it resembles the theory of Darwin, "with its steps inverted."—See his *Plato and the other Companions of Socrates* (1865), III. 292; and also Philo, *De Mundi Opificio* (ed. 1613), p. 24. It furnishes the argument of Canto xiii. of the *Paradiso*.

But, you ask, what things are they that are born in heaven? I answer, all the stars, which are there born,¹ and remain for ever; just as the things born of earth are on the earth, and remain for a time. For fire, air, and water have inhabitants of their own; though to treat of them would be an endless task, and foreign to my purpose.

The facts, however, which I have just been tracing so far back, point to this conclusion:—that we are to understand the earth, the parent of vegetation, to have a native fecundity of its own; and that, with whatever scantiness and difficulty and slowness and poverty, it nevertheless can bring forth and diffuse vegetation without help from the sun;² seeing that it has this innate power, derived from its own seminal principles, of producing a numerous and varied offspring. No one therefore should wonder, that Moses previously mentioned the things which spring from the earth. For in my opinion he did this intentionally, to remind the more intelligent that the earth is spontaneously productive of all plants, and that the impregnation and fertility of the earth is even anterior to the origin of sun and moon. For if we observe a right order, we are bound to say, that the earth emanated from God before the stars had their birth in heaven: because a previous emanation³ must needs be finished, before a second is begun. Now what I call the first, is the series of spheres,⁴ beginning with God, and proceeding through concentric orbits to the last sphere, which is earth. By the name of second

¹ "Tribuenda est sideribus eadem divinitas; quæ ex mobilissima purissimaque ætheris parte *gignuntur*, neque ulla præterea sunt admixta natura," etc.—Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* II. 15. In Lib. III. 14, of the same treatise, Cicero refers to the common opinion of the Stoics, that the sun was fed by marine vapours, and the moon by those of fresh water. See further Justus Lipsius, *Physiol. Stoic.* II. 14.

² Lactantius is here more in accord with modern philosophy:—"In quo (sole) est natura et causa gignentium. Nam sine solis igneo calore neque nasci quicquam, neque augeri potest."—*Div. Instit.* I. 12.—But see the end of the next paragraph in the text.

³ Lat. *fusionem*, "outpouring;" a word taken from Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* I. 15.

⁴ See the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, p. 128.

emanation (or *brood*, if I may so speak), I denote all the things produced in succession from these primary elements; each of which in turn is a begetter of denizens of its own.

And thus I say that the earth and its fecundity are antecedent, not to the fecundity of heaven, but to the actual birth of the stars. And with respect to these stars again, though they precede in order—not the fecundity of the earth; but the vegetation that actually springs from the earth; yet, inasmuch as the earth produces this vegetation spontaneously, by virtue of its own innate seminal principles, it was the design of Moses to mention the earth's fertility and production of vegetation, before he mentioned the stars; to show that the fruitfulness of the earth did not depend on the stars,¹ as perhaps might be thought on account of the great help afforded by the sun to what is emerging into birth.

He then says: *Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed.*—For even the things that are born of the earth, draw their fecundity from the earth herself, and carry with them a power of reproduction. Which power in these lowest objects, is so narrowed and subdivided as to suffice only for the mere germ and rudiments of its kind. And these very rudiments are so feeble, that they cannot by any means reproduce their parent, without the help of many external aids. Nor are they qualified to reproduce anything else than that by which they were begotten. The result therefore is that, from the exhaustion of power at these extreme limits, there is an unvarying recurrence and reproduction; so that we see no new thing born, but only the same as has been born before; and there is a kind of unchanging succession and continuity. Hence the words

¹ It is interesting to note this passing protest against one form of the prevalent astrology, in connection with the efforts made by Savonarola and Pico della Mirandola in the same direction. The treatise *Contra Astrologiam Divinatricem* of the former was published in 1495, while Colet was probably in Italy; and his *Triumphus Crucis*, one chapter of which is devoted to the same end, was written in 1497.—See Hill's translation of the *Triumphus Crucis* (1868), p. xliv. Of Pico's whole works, the *Disputationes in Astrologiam* make up considerably more than one third.

ver. 12. added afterwards: *whose seed was in itself, after his kind.* For in proceeding from the earth, wherein lies a greater power of fecundity, they drew along with them a certain amount of seminal power also; at least, as regards reproduction; since there was not the power of producing more kinds than one, or different kinds.

ver. 13. But now, what, in this connection, can be the meaning of the words: *And the evening and the morning were the third day?*

A difficult and perplexing question, I confess; so that the thought of it quite harasses me. For I recollect what I said before concerning the first and second day; and this makes it essential that what is stated afterwards, should agree and harmonize with it. How I am to attain this result, I fail to see. However, since I have begun, I must say something, such as appears most proper to be said. Deal with it as you please. Enough for me, in this familiar style of writing, and with such vast topics for our thoughts, to discuss the matter without any attempt at profoundness.

Let me first set down, however, what I observe in Moses, especially as regards the order of the things about which he speaks. The points observed are the following:—

It was the design of Moses, (1) to speak worthily of God; (2) to satisfy the minds of ordinary people, in respect of matters known to them; (3) to preserve an order in events; (4) above all, to lead the people on to religion, and the worship of one God.

Now the objects best known to ordinary mortals are these five: Heaven, Earth and Sea (reckoned as one),¹ Stars, Fishes, Animals.

Accordingly, after the first day, in which he has embraced all in epitome, he takes in hand these five objects, as being better known and more familiar to common apprehension. These he designates in their proper order, in a most accurate, and (so far as ignorant understandings admitted of it) in a most scientific manner as well.

First of all comes the heaven. Next, holding the second

¹ Lat. *astincta*, a word apparently meant as the opposite of *distincta*.

place among the objects enumerated by Moses, is the earth surrounded by the sea; taking precedence in order over the generation of the stars. And having spoken of the earth, he adds an account of its vegetation: not that this latter preceded the stars; but, after using the words, *Let the earth bring forth*, he would show that the seminal principles of such bringing forth were there before the stars were in existence; lest the vulgar should suppose, as often happens, that the power of generation lay wholly in the sun and the other stars.—The stars in reality, as being born in heaven, precede the objects born in the other elements, as much as the heaven precedes the earth.—For the above reason, after speaking of the sea-encompassed earth, he takes occasion to speak at the same time of the vegetation attached to the earth, in order to signify the ancient, spontaneous fecundity of it. Then, in the fourth place, he speaks of the fourth in succession. I mean, the multitude of stars, the denizens of heaven. And in treating of these, it is plain to see that he takes peculiar count of the common understanding, and seeks only to deal with the more conspicuous objects. For this cause, in lieu of all the stars, he names the Sun and Moon only; just as afterwards, in connection with the fifth day, he mentions *great whales* alone, in lieu of all the fishes.

Now, of those five that I referred to, the third place is occupied by the sun and moon and the other stars, the inhabitants of heaven; which bear the same relation to inhabitants of the other elements, as the heavenly sphere does to the other spheres comprised beneath it. Below the stars again are the inhabitants of fire and air. And were I to follow some profane authors, I ought to call these fiery and aerial demons.¹ But as it was the design of Moses to treat of the

¹ The allusion in "profane authors" is perhaps to writers like Porphyry, who in the *De Abstinencia*, Lib. II. (Ed. 1620, p. 191), speaks of the demons that "*maxima ex parte sub locum lunæ habitant.*" Ficino (*Op.* ed. 1576, II. 1437) enumerates five classes of them: *cælestes, ætherii, aërii, terreni, subterranei*. Michael Psellus reckons six. See also what is said about the "fendes" that dwell "in this part of the ayre," in *The Myraure of oure Ladye* (ed. by J. H. Blunt), p. 303.

more visible objects in the universe, he omitted these more recondite ones.

Accordingly, after his account of the stars, he subjoins some words about fishes, and the creatures that are born in water. And, inasmuch as the fishes, though fourth in the order of visible objects, are fifth in order, if referred to the first day's works of creation, on which Moses chiefly sought to note what was invisible,—therefore the fifth day is allotted to them.

The creatures mentioned on the sixth day are not so much the offspring of simple elements, nor have they such simplicity of nature, as those which I have several times called inhabitants of the elements. They are on the contrary more composite than those inhabitants, and therefore subsequent to them, and subsequently mentioned. For, if we enquire into the primary, archetypal generation of animals,—assuming that those classes of beings can have had any primary type—it would seem to have been derived, not from one element in particular (as in case of the inhabitants of the elements), but from the corporeal universe collectively. Indeed, man is to such a degree a composite being, that we may consider him the child of the whole universe, corporeal and incorporeal.¹

Well then, to these conspicuous objects, the animals and man, being fifth in order of the visible things related, but sixth, if reference be made to the invisible things, specially included under the first day,—the sixth day is assigned.

This number six appears to me to denote, not so much any number and distinction of time, which had no existence in creation, as a number and order in the events themselves.²

¹ The conception of man as the product, or offspring, of the entire universe, is found in the *Pæmander* of Hermes Trismegistus, c. x.:—"Mundum Deus habet, mundus hominem. Mundus Dei filius, homo *genitura mundi*."—See further, besides the passages quoted at p. 133 of the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, Lib. III. Diss. 2, of the *Physiologia Stoic.* of Justus Lipsius; and pp. 39, 202 of Munk's *Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe* (1857).

² The observation is taken from Philo:—"Sex autem diebus fabricatum ait mundum, non quod temporis spatio opus habuerit Conditor . . . sed quoniam opus erat res creari *quodam ordine*. Ordini autem numerus est proximus."—*De Mundi Op.* (ed. 1613), p. 2. F.

For, since each of these has its own time and proper measure, the time of the several events recounted admits, in each case, of a numerical mode of denomination. And thus, from there being first, second, and third events, the expression arises of first, second, and third *days*, as the corresponding measurement of those events; though the *days* spoken of differ as widely from one another, as do the events themselves to which they are accommodated. And since the measure of time, in case of each event, may be in a certain way regarded as its own proper measure, therefore Moses was induced, in keeping with the order and number of the events, to distinguish the time also by order and number, and adapt to each event its own proper time; involving a first, second, third, and so on; agreeably, as I said, to the order and number in the events themselves. For although time is in itself one, undefined, and single; yet a measure of each event can be comprehended within precise limits by the mind; and this limited time it determines to be first, second, or third, according as the events themselves are reckoned first, second, or third.

To things eternal eternity is assigned; to heaven, eternal time; to the rest, their several appropriate times. And these he distinguished by the number six: one reason being that this number readily suggests itself to men's minds in the works of creation.¹

The six are as follows:—(1) The super-celestial; (2) The heaven itself; (3) The earth surrounded by water, and productive of plants; (4) The sun and moon, inhabitants of heaven; (5) Fishes, inhabitants of water; (6) Animals, inhabitants of earth, water, and air; and man, inhabitant of the whole universe.

Another and a special reason why he made this sixfold distinction, was, that by imitating God, whom poet-like he imagined to have worked six days and rested on the seventh,

¹ This seems to be plainly the meaning of the Latin, though the position of *hominum* makes the sentence rather ambiguous. Philo's reasons for the selection of the number six are much more recondite: turning partly on its being the first "perfect" number—that is, one made up of the sum of its factors ($1 + 2 + 3 = 6$);—for which subject see the *Liber de Intellectu* of Carolus Bovillus, Paris, 1510.

the people might be led to rest on every seventh day, and to the contemplation and worship of God. No doubt he was satisfied with this number seven, in which to include both the works and the rest that ended them, from the perfectness of that number;¹ since we observe it ever to occur, in nature's handiwork, associated with completion. For it is certain that he would never have fixed upon that number of days, were it not to incite the people to imitation, by setting before them a pattern, so to speak, in this wise and useful invention; to the intent that they should put an end to their daily occupations every six days, and spend the seventh in an exalted contemplation of God. This was the chief motive for that sixfold division of events; namely, the introduction therefrom, authoritatively and with the sanction of religion, of a distinction and order of days. It is from the events themselves, in which there are degrees of first, second, and third, that the days are called first, second, and third, likewise. And thus, when Moses spoke of the third events, he called their *day* and time the third.

Here then you have, Ralph, my notions about the third day's work: What they are worth, I know not. Enough for me, as I said before, to have composed a superficial treatise of this kind on such topics. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

I GREET you well, Ralph, supposing you to have returned in good health, as I desire. You, I imagine, have got through four days; whilst I in the meantime have with difficulty got through a single Mosaic day. Rather, I should say, you have been working by daylight, and in the sunshine; while I, during this period, have been losing myself in the darkness of night. I neither saw where I was to go, nor do I know now whither I arrived. However

¹ See the *Moralia* of Gregorius Magnus on Job xlii. 8; and for the subject generally, the *Numerorum Mysteria* of Petrus Bungus, 1591.

I felt bound to persevere in my undertaking, and at last found my way out as best I could.

While blundering on in this perplexity, I seem to have detected a grave blunder in Moses also. For, after concluding each day's work in the words: *and the evening and the morning were the first day, second day, third day*, and so on; he should not have added the word *day*, but rather, *first night, second night, third night*; since, when evening begins and morning follows, the intervening period between such evening and morning must needs be *night*. For *day* begins with morning, and ends at evening.¹

But, in truth, these divisions of the subject Moses wrote about into days, might with the greatest reason have been termed nights; from their being overshadowed with such darkness, that nothing can appear more akin to night than a Mosaic *day*. This nocturnal darkness I have endeavoured to dispel, with the help of some inkling of light. Perhaps indeed, being in the dark myself, I have only increased the darkness, and made the nights longer! However, it is creditable to have had the wish to do right. And if my performance, such as it is, seem only a hazy one to you, why then pour upon it some of your own light; that you may see me, and both of us together may be able to see Moses.

The first day contains an epitome of the creation. The second, the formation of heaven. The third, the productiveness of earth.

A fourth day is now introduced, in which the inhabi-

¹ The explanations of this given by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine are striking. The former says that the reason of *evening* being mentioned first, was to give due importance to the first *day*; the *ending* of which was thus formally marked by the notice of evening:—"Ut prærogativam et primatus nativitatis diei daret, prius finem diei significavit, postquam secutura nox esset; deinde postea finem noctis adjunxit."—*Hexameron*, Cap. vi. § 20. The latter makes the *morning* to be only the last consecutive section of the first full day, reckoning from dawn to dawn: "Cum illa operatio diei per lucem gesta insinuaretur, consequenter factam dicitur esse vesperam, et factum esse mane, diem unum; ut scilicet sit unus dies a cæpto die usque ad cæptum diem, id est, a mane usque ad mane."—*De Genesi ad lit.*, Cap. vii. § 28.

tants of heaven are recounted ; the sun, moon, and rest of the stars. These are of course fourth in the order of existing things, and hold precedence among the inhabitants of the physical universe. For the plants, spoken of above, from their being inseparably attached to the earth, should be rather called habitations than inhabitants.¹ And it was rather incidentally, than of set purpose, that Moses made mention of them before the stars ; in order to make it plainly evident that the earth's fecundity does not depend on the stars.²

We are to bear in mind, then, that the stars occupy the first place among those inhabitants of the visible universe which have a wider and more unrestricted motion, in virtue of their region being the first of all. Also, that the universe was briefly comprehended under the first day ; on the second, the heaven was established ; on the third, the earth was fixed in its position, and girt about with sea, and clothed with vegetation :—these three things, namely, heaven, earth, and sea, being the only ones of which the visible universe is popularly supposed to consist.

Accordingly, when Moses proceeds to follow out the order of events, he commences an account of the *inhabitants* of the visible world ; to wit, those that are more conspicuous to the eyes of ordinary people. And about these also he writes in a popular and unrefined style, being mindful that he had in hand an ignorant multitude to teach, and one altogether incompetent to understand any elevated language. Hence it followed that he said nothing about the stars, though most fully acquainted with them, beyond the simple facts noticed and remarked upon by the vulgar :—as, that they are in the firmament, and give light upon the earth, and cause days and years : facts which any one could have observed and stated of himself. But all this is in

¹ Augustine had made a similar remark in his *De Genesi ad lit.*, xi. § 35 :—"Hæc autem omnia ita supra terram sunt, ut ipsi terræ radicibus cohæreant, *et ei continentur*, et rursum quodammodo separentur."—Vegetation was regarded, from this point of view, as simply a fringe, or outermost continuation, of the earth.

² See note above, p. 19.

accordance with the purpose of Moses; whose design it was, to begin his account with God, and to refer the origin of those divisions of the universe which all could see, and the arrangement of them, to God. He coupled with this also a distinction of works and days; in order to set before an uninstructed nation, with the sanction of religion, an example of working and resting, and lead them on to an imitation of God, the maker of the whole world. With consummate ingenuity, as well as devotion, he represented God to have spent six days on the fabric of the universe, and to have rested on the seventh; that he might, in the first place, commend to the minds of men a religious rest on every seventh day; and might also convince an ignorant multitude, by the authority and example of God, that every seventh day was consecrated to divine worship and contemplation.

But let me come to the actual words of Moses. *And God* ver. 14. *said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven.*—As I have mentioned, all these things were created simultaneously. For it is unworthy of God, and utterly unbecoming, to suppose that He made first one thing and then another, as if He could not have made all things at once, in a single instant. Hence the saying in Ecclesiasticus: *He that liveth for ever created all things in general.*¹ But, like Eccles. xviii. 1. a good and devout poet, as Origen in his treatise against Celsus calls him,² Moses would invent something, even in a certain degree unworthy of God, if only it might be of advantage and service to man. So dear was this race of man to God, that He *made himself of no reputation, and* Phil. ii. 7. *took upon him the form of a servant, the better to reach the*

¹ In the Douay version, *together*: the word in the Vulgate being *simul*.

² I have failed to discover any passage in which Moses is absolutely called a *poet* by Origen; but the following may perhaps be what Colet had in mind:—"At Moyses, haud secus ac strenuus *orator*, qui, aliquam dicendi figuram meditatus, nullum verbum profert quod duplicem sensum capere non possit, in suis quinque libris eandem observavit regulam."—c. *Celsum*, I. 19. Just afterwards the "*pura pique anima Moysis*" is referred to.

hearts of poor, weak men. And in like manner must all the things of God, when delivered to man, degenerate from their sublime nature, and adopt a more palpable form, more easily within man's comprehension.

✓ Even so, when the lofty wisdom of Moses, touching God, and things divine, and the creation of the world, has to be communicated to the popular understanding, it smacks throughout of the homely and uncultivated; so that we perceive him to have spoken, not in keeping with his own intelligence, but so as to suit the conceptions of the multitude. Yet, while thus subservient to their conceptions, he is striving to lure them on, by the bait of a high and holy fiction, and draw them to the service of God.

✓ That this was done by theologians of old, and that they might lawfully do it, is shown by Macrobius¹ in his Commentary. * * *

¹ The passage referred to is probably that in the *In somnium Scipionis*, I. 2:—"Aut sacrarum rerum notio sub figmentorum velamine honestis et tecta rebus et vestita nominibus enuntiatur: et hoc est solum figmenti genus, quod cautio de divinis rebus admittit."



ON CHRIST'S MYSTICAL BODY,
THE CHURCH.



ON THE COMPOSITION OF CHRIST'S HOLY, MYSTICAL
BODY, THE CHURCH; WHICH, WITHOUT ITS SOUL,
THAT IS, THE HOLY SPIRIT, IS DISMEMBERED
AND DISPERSED.

MANKIND, of whom the Church is composed, are, of their own fallen and carnal nature, in a state of utter dismemberment and dispersion. For they are separated from one another by their own proper natures and wills : each one, in reliance on himself, following the bent of his own inclination. And seeing that men's propensities are varying every instant, inasmuch as each one is dependent on his own proper nature¹ in respect of disposition and will, the state of society must needs be continually shifting, and present a different aspect almost every year.

For what shall we say of this lowest region, the earthly one, where all is black and cold,² all naturally conflicting and opposed ; in which nevertheless our sojourn is prolonged ? What shall we say moreover of these bodies, of opposite natures,³ ever striving to part asunder ? Or what again of

¹ The subject of any cause was said to *depend* on that cause ; as *man* on the rational soul, which was his formal cause, and which is hence called his *nature*.—See Barlow's *Exercit. Metaph.* (1658), p. 159.

² Blackness (or darkness) and cold, being the opposites of light and heat, are constantly joined together by Colet as symbolical of misery and evil. See the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 231, and those on *I. Corinthians*, pp. xv. 68, 153.—Lactantius, in a like spirit, connects the warm south with the light east ; as, on the other hand, he connects the cold north with the dark west : in which, he adds, “ *figura vitæ et mortis continetur ; quia vita in calore est, mors in frigore.*”—*Div. Inst.* II. 9.

³ The opinion of Empedocles, that our bodies are compounded of the four conflicting elements, is cited by Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* II. 12 :—“ *nam terræ ratio in carne est ; humoris, in sanguine ; aeris, in spiritu ; ignis, in calore vitali.*”—See also Lib. VII. 4 of the same work.—In the *De contemnenda Morte* of Baptista Mantuanus (*Op.* 1576, I. 120), the thought is worked out in detail :—

men's souls? in which there are as many separate feelings as there are individuals, and as many wills as feelings. Whence it follows, that for men of themselves to combine together, to continue alike, or to be consistent, is against their carnal nature. From the effects of the first fall, we are inevitably born with a tendency to separate ourselves, each one from his neighbour, and to follow our private interests; to withdraw from social intercourse by yielding to the propensity of our degenerate nature; to fall away and become scattered in all directions. So that, even though men may assemble themselves together, and establish laws, to bind the human society and commonwealth more closely, they yet break the bonds of those laws, through their intractable nature, and do not long observe any laws at all.

It was owing to this carnal state and condition of humanity, and this proneness to evil, that the Jews did not obey even the Law given them by God, good and holy though it was, but were ever transgressing the very bounds set to keep them from transgression. *The law was added, says Gal. iii. 19. St. Paul, because of transgressions.* And in the same Epistle *Ib. vi. 13.* to the Galatians we read: *Neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law; because the law has no life-giving power.* Observance of the law comes by means of a life-giving principle; and it is by this that men are justified. We are not righteous through observance of the law, but we observe the good law because we are righteous. Now we are thus righteous when justified by grace; being made righteous by God, to the end that we should live righteously. So that our justification precedes the righteous dealing which is an observance of the law, and we do not act righteously before we ourselves are righteous. Of our own human and carnal nature we are all unrighteous; confessedly

"Omnia quæ in mundo fieri majore videmus,
In nobis simili cernimus esse modo," etc.

The well-known lines of Ovid, *Met. I. 19, sq.*, were often quoted to the same effect.—See also the *Prædicationes* of Ficino (*Op. 1576, I. p. 492*).

powerless to do anything aright, though righteous deeds are enjoined upon us. What indeed is the use of enjoining precepts on the unrighteous, unless we first make them righteous; so that, being made righteous, they may be able to observe the precepts of righteousness? Unless, to be sure, the object is to point out to them how powerless they are for good, that they may turn to some other source, and seek to be duly justified from thence; so as to have no need, in their righteous state, of any law to enjoin upon them what is good.

It was for this purpose, no doubt, that the Law of Moses was given; since it required men to be righteous, but did not of itself make them so. In the words of the Apostle to the Galatians: *if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law.* But men continued unrighteous under good precepts, till the time came for them to be made righteous in accordance with those good precepts: a time when, being now made righteous, they should do what was good, of their own righteous selves, and need not the precepts of any law. Gal. iii. 21.

But before the appearance of this means for justifying mankind, and of reforming them to an inward righteousness, so as to live righteously by an inner law of God, the whole human race was drifting on, everywhere purposeless and disorganized; without order, without form, without goodness; incapable of working righteousness; every one, forsaken of God, sinking as low as his own nature led him. And hence, through this general infirmity of nature, every one was seeking his own; bent only on private advantage; on increasing, strengthening, and establishing himself by his own resources. In which self-reliance, while eagerly seeking his own advantage and his own establishment, poor, ignorant man did but sink into greater infirmity, and fall from bad to worse.

When the mischief is once begun, evil after evil thus follows in endless succession, until at length some remedy be applied. And this remedy, I repeat, must be sought from some external source, not from the patient himself.

'For evil can never be cured by evil,¹ nor can good laws be made by bad men: neither can bad men bring themselves into order; being, as they are, utterly bad and disordered, from the very fact of their having fallen from goodness and order. Whatever, therefore, they may attempt among themselves, of and by themselves, nothing but mischievous deformity can be the ultimate result.

Compare the case of the human body.² Were there not a common force, called *soul*, to unite and bring into order the conflicting natures whereof it consists, and bind and connect them together, these elements would part asunder by their own natural properties. Even so it is with mankind. Of their own nature they are disorganized, deformed, and lost. Were there not some higher power, to restore, reform, reunite, and retain them constantly in beauty and good action, and in a mutual association of natures:—were there not, I repeat, some such common principle, at once powerful, true, good, large, and capacious, by which mankind, ever drifting asunder, might be collected and drawn together, so as to coalesce and blend harmoniously in one stream:—what would be the result? It must needs be that, in the absence of such a principle, they would of themselves be divided and scattered abroad, wandering and

Ps. cxix.
176.

going astray like a sheep that is lost. They would be like a flock forsaken by its shepherd, or an army deprived of its leader, or a body deserted by its soul. For extension and separation are connected with motion, not with rest. And motion causes incessant changes in the human race. To motion it is due that nothing is kept constant or without alternation; but that, while something is produced by it at one place, it is lost at another.³ The varied and conflicting

¹ See the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 93, and xl. n. 5.

² See note above, p. 31.—The reference in what follows is again to Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* II. 12:—"Ficto enim corpore, spiravit ei animam de vitali fonte spiritus sui, qui est perennis Ex rebus igitur diversis ac repugnantibus homo factus est, sicut ipse mundus ex luce ac tenebris, etc."

³ There is a similar allusion to Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* in Savonarola's *Triumph of the Cross*:—"In Nature every move-

affections of men cause one to press forward, another to yield, and society in this way to be disorganized.

It is thus clear that mankind, of their own proper nature, can by no means hold together in firm and lasting union. It follows, that they must be made to approximate by some power external to, and higher than, themselves; in which, as in a bond that holds the whole body together, the members of the society may make common confederation. And this power will bear the same relation to the human commonwealth, that the soul does to the body. If, then, mankind are to be arranged together in order, and keep their places in the beauty of regularity, there must needs be some power at work among them, transcending the nature of man; a power which unites, stays, and holds together. It must unite their division; stay their drifting nature, and rapid propensity to evil; and, by its simple harmony, hold together the discordant minds and wills of men.

Now what is this power that compels men thus to assemble and confederate together, but the Spirit that is above them? It is this which gathers them together, that by its inspiration they may draw breath again, and be united in the bond of common aspirations: the Spirit of God accomplishing, what human nature failed to do, the arranging of men in fair order in a commonwealth. This Spirit, as St. John says, *bloweth where it listeth*. He calls John iii. 8. whom he will to his commonwealth, and justifies those whom he has called; that of men so justified he may form, in and for himself, a righteous commonwealth, to be called the City of God. For *God is a Spirit*. Ib. iv. 24.

These men are united in spirit by no other law than the inspiration and justification of the Divine Spirit. For, living justified, as they all are, in spirit and in life, they have no need of the law, which is only given for the unjust and sinners. The law, as St. Paul says to the Romans, is the *spirit of life*; that is, a life-giving spirit in Christ Jesus; Rom. viii. 2.

ment passes from one contrary to another; so that the generation of one being is but the corruption of another."—Hill's translation (1868), p. 9.

Gal. vi. 2. seeing that from it, and from such a principle giving life
 Rom. xiii. 10. to the dead, there is righteousness among men. But the
 law of Moses has no life-giving power, and therefore there
 is no righteousness from it. True quickening to life comes
 by the Spirit of Christ; and He is the parent of righteous-
 ness;—a righteousness which consists in *bearing one another's*
burdens in love, and which is the *fulfilling of the law* in
 Christ. Such righteousness is the work of righteous men;
 of those, namely, who have been made righteous in Christ,
 that they may in turn bring forth righteousness in their
 works; not of themselves, but of the law of Christ. Let
 no one be deceived in respect of himself, believing that he
 is anything of himself. Whatever he does worthy of praise,
 let him weigh it well: for, be it what it may, it is of God.

Now this life-giving, uniting, connecting power is the
 Holy Spirit; whose property it is to bind together, in one
 framework of citizenship, different men and opposite minds.
 If the Spirit departs, the fabric falls to pieces by its natural
 tendency. For, when that secret link and connecting
 essence is wanting—the soul, as I may call it, that quickens
 the Church—it is inevitable that the Church, which is God's
 Body, being deprived of its Spirit, should fall to pieces, like
 a dead corpse, in dismemberment and dissolution.¹

The Spirit of God is one, unchanging, and simple, con-
 stant in its own unity, and abiding in the commonwealth
 united by itself, so long as the obedience of the subjects
 thus united admits of it, and so long as they rely not on
 themselves, but on the uniting Spirit. For from self-
 reliance springs dissension. And whilst the Spirit of God
 is present with the Church, it infuses itself in a marvellous
 way throughout,² and radiates its influence through all the

¹ Compare Macrobius, *In Som. Scip.* II. 12:—"Sic, cum morte ani-
 malis discesserit animatio, cadit corpus, regente viduaturn."

² The reader will call to mind the oft-quoted lines of Virgil:—

"Principio cælum ac terras . . .
 Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
 Mens agitat molem, etc."—*Aen.* vi. 726, sq.

There is much also in the present passage that sounds like an echo of

Church's members that are in Christ. This Spirit of Christ is united to the whole Body of the Church, and unites the whole of it; giving to the several parts of it (namely, individual men), at once a spiritual being, and a beautiful unity for all alike in the Spirit of God. When the Spirit is taken away, there is a change of form in all things,¹ not least in the Church; and beauty is turned to deformity. But if the Spirit of God be present with the Church, then from His essence, which is one with the Father and the Son, there flows a spiritual being into all the members of the Church. By this influx they are in the first place begotten again to a spiritual being, and in the next are sustained therein.

Thus the act of that essence of God in us is our spiritual being in Him. For the act of essence is being.² And just as from the Spirit's essence there flows unity and spiritual being into the several members of the Church, so from the power of the same essence there flows a spiritual working in every spiritual man, accompanying his spiritual being. And so, from the Spirit of God in Christ, there is infused at once into those who are called to Him, into each according to his measure, and according as is meet for the fashioning of the Church, both spiritual being and spiritual working. This gift is bestowed on their minds and wills, in order that

the *Pemander*:—"Spiritus per venas arteriasque sanguinemque diffusus, animal undique ciet, molemque corporis suspensam sustinet, atque circumfert" (ed. 1607, p. 426). For the "meane spirits" by which this influence is radiated, see Gil's *Sacred Philosophie*, II. 192, and the *Lectures on Romans*, pp. 73, 75.

¹ Lat. *species mutatur in omnibus*.—With this compare Macrobius (*ibid.*), "Constat, inquam, nihil intra vivum mundum perire; sed eorum quæ interire videntur solum *mutari speciem*."—The like principle of what might now be called the "conservation of matter," changing only in form, pervades the writings of Hermes Trismegistus, referred to above. So in the *Pemander* (ut sup.) p. 453: "Non moritur in mundo quicquam, sed composita corpora dissoluuntur: dissolutio mors non est, sed missionis resolutio quædam."

² This was a refinement of the schoolmen on Aristotle. They distinguished between *essentia* and *existentia*. Thus "humanity" was the *essence* of a human being; and when this essence was conceived of as energizing, the result was existence, or being.—See Mirandola, *De Ente et Uno* (Op. ed. 1601, p. 176).

Matt. vii.
20.

they may first *be* spiritual in the Spirit, and then *do* all things spiritually in accordance with the Spirit, and produce spiritual results; that so, through their spiritual working, they may be recognized as spiritual men in the Spirit of Christ. *By their fruits*, says Christ concerning his members, *ye shall know them*.

Now inasmuch as this Spirit of Jesus Christ bestows on those who are in Him both spiritual being and working, it certainly follows that he communicates, to every one of His members in the Church, His own essence and power. And He imparts spiritual being and working to each member, in proportion as He is united thereto. Now He is united, and communicates Himself, to every one of them; but variously, according to the variety of those so united to Him. From which varying degree of union with Him, men have various degrees of spiritual existence in one Spirit. And when the members that have been united to Him, are arranged in order and thoroughly adjusted to one another, there ensues, from the variety of those who are thus fittingly united in the Spirit, a pleasing beauty in the Church, and in the members of Christ.—By these I mean *men*, the citizens and household of God, who form the city of God in Christ Jesus. He is the ruler of the City: by His wisdom and command the whole City is governed and directed.

This society of men in Christ Jesus; this spiritual City, formed anew in the form of Christ, and happily begotten again by the Spirit of God; is an homogeneous whole in itself. And it is so through the form of Jesus Christ, and through the existence of the one Spirit in the whole and in the parts, and His being present to the whole and to the parts. The harmony and mutual agreement of the parts is caused by that one and the same Spirit, who cements them all into one. From Him all have their spiritual life and sense, motion and action. Through His presence all the members thrive and are active, under the soft and gentle impulse of the Spirit. He is everywhere throughout the whole Church, filling and penetrating it in every part by His life-giving power; that he may bind together and consolidate in Himself the naturally frail and fleeting members;

and that all things in the Church may be established, governed, and moved by the steady upholding of the Spirit.

This divine bond of the Church in Christ Jesus, is either the very Spirit of God in Christ, or its cementing power: a power that acts in the Church almost in the same way as the curdling property of rennet¹ does in milk. Or at any rate we may compare it to the influence of the magnet² upon iron, by which the iron is attracted and held in suspense. We are all attracted to the Spirit of God, so as to depend on Him alone;—our magnet, so to speak, and the balance-wheel of our clock;³ for by that Spirit we are governed, moved, and sustained in a wonderful order. By Him also the super-substantial spirits, whom He has drawn together to Himself, are held in gentle union. And those are so held who have been called together unto Him: while those again are the called, who were predestined to this grace before the foundation of the world. For it had been foreseen that man would fall; and after the fall there was

¹ Lat. *coagulum*.—For the ancient use of this in making cheese, see Columella, *De Re Rustica*, VIII. 8.

² See the *Lectures on I. Cor.* p. 124, for a similar comparison.—Some reasons are there given for thinking that the extended voyages of Vasco di Gama, Vespucci, and others, had turned men's minds with fresh interest to the subject of the mariner's compass, and consequently to that of the properties of the loadstone. This becomes more probable, if we notice More's allusion to the use of the compass, at the beginning of his *Utopia*:—"Sed miram se narrabat inisse gratiam, tradito magnetis usu, cujus antea penitus erant ignari, etc." (*Op.* ed. 1563, p. 7). Vives also, in his *De invent. rerum*, twice at least goes out of his way to adduce the striking invention of the mariner's compass:—"Quotidie aliquid admiratione dignum hominum industria invenit, velut pyxidem illam, qua nautæ navigationem peritissime moderantur" (ed. 1671, p. 99: cf. p. 214).

³ Lat. *horologii nostri temperatio*.—The invention of clocks moved by weights was probably of earlier date than is commonly supposed; but it seems certain that, about the time when Colet wrote, a great impulse had been given to their construction. From a letter of John Paston's, of about 1470, it would appear that the religious houses were then the most likely places in which to find workmen skilful enough to make or repair them.—See Fenn's *Paston Letters* (Knight's ed.), II. p. 45.—The great clock at Nuremberg was put up in 1462; that at Venice, in 1497.—See Beckmann's *Hist. of Inventions* (Bohn's ed., I. p. 353).

in truth nothing but what was fleeting, infirm, unstable, and evanescent. Out of this abandoned material it was predestined that one vessel should be made unto honour, and another left unto dishonour. It was predestined that man, having fallen from God, could be drawn back to God by no other means, than through God made man.

God, made man, was the means whereby men were to be made gods. By His Godhead all are made godlike. He marked out for men, in His own person, a right way of living. He died, to set men free for such a life; that, every man's debt being discharged by His death, they might now cease from sin, and be henceforth free unto righteousness. He died, that we might no longer continue in sin. For we are now dead unto sin in the death of Christ; being baptized in His death, and washed in His blood. Our former self has been *buried with Christ into death*, to appear again no more; and that which was washed away in His blood, is hidden out of sight in His death. Now He died, that our sins might die in Him; that we should no longer sin, but *walk in newness of life*. Our sinful personality has been crucified with Christ, whose death was on behalf of sinners. Therefore, as He died for sins, that our sins might die in us; so ought we, who believe Him to have suffered for our sins, to make an end of sinning from the first moment of our so believing. And we should do this, that it may be seen that our sins are dead in His death; to the intent that we may be *planted together*, as St. Paul says—in which planting, that which springs up, first dies: for *except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone*—that we may be *planted together*, I say, *in the likeness of his death*, and first die in Him, that we may be afterwards like Him in His resurrection. *For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death, we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection*. That is to say, if we have put off our old estate, we shall be made new; if we have put off mortality, we shall be immortal. Our mortality is sin; and when that is put off, we begin to be as it were immortal: *our old man being crucified, and the body of sin and mortality being*

Rom. vi. 4.

Rom. vi. 5.

Joh. xii. 24.

Rom. vi. 6.

destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin, but have the dominion henceforward in virtue.

No one stands on higher ground, and has the dominion, unless he first ceases to be on lower ground and to serve. No one is formed again to what is better, unless he has first put off the form which tended to the worse. None can live, unless he first dies. We must all be *planted together*, and begin our mortification here, that we may live. But if we will not die, we shall not live. *If we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him. He that is once for all dead, is freed from sin.* Christ is dead, that our old nature should appear in us no longer, but be washed away in His blood; should die and be buried with Him; that all which is old in us should be abolished; that henceforth we should savour of nothing but newness in Christ, and immortality in Him who rose again immortal from the dead. He would have us abandon for ever the way towards death, and enter upon the way towards immortality; beginning even now to be immortal, for the full immortality hereafter, when all death shall be utterly destroyed; just as before, by sinning, we began to be mortal, for the consummation of death, when all life should be totally withdrawn.

He who is not utterly dead in the death of Christ, can be nowise benefited by the death of Christ unto life. For in His life no one lives, unless he first die in Him: in Him no one dies, unless in that death there die also that part of the man, whatever it be, for which Christ died. It was for our sins He died: the sinful personality must therefore die outright with Christ. For in Christ all that element in man must die,—that element, I say, for which Christ died. Christ died not for the *substance* of our body, which is good, and will remain in the blessed;¹ but for the *sins* of

¹ So Tertullian, *De resurrect. carnis*, c. 50: "Apparet hinc quoque carnem et sanguinem nomine culpæ, non substantiæ, arceri a Dei regno." And again, *ib.* c. 56: "Deo indignum, aliam substantiam operari, aliam mercedem dispungi."—Compare also Gil's *Sacred Philosophie*, II. p. 190: "The qualities of the bodies shall be changed, the substance shall not be lost."

the body. It follows, therefore, that a man will not kill *himself*, but will extinguish by every means the *sin* in his own body; that we may see the death in him of *that* for which Christ once for all died, that it might die once for all, and not revive. If it should revive, the death of

Rom. vi. 9. Christ has been made of none effect. For *He being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him.* As Christ once for all died and rose again, not to die a second time; so we, who are dead with Christ, and have put off that for which Christ died, ought so to rise again from the sacred washing of baptism, as not to return a second time to our sin; lest we should appear to be dying again. And this assuredly is not the part of a Christian, whose duty it is to imitate Christ. Being once for all dead, we should not begin a second time to be mortal through sin, but go on in our immortality through grace. He that is dead *unto sin*, writes St. Paul, is dead once for all. And beyond doubt he ought to die, and put off his sin, once for all; as meaning to die no more, but *live unto God*: for he who liveth unto God, by rising again from deadly sin to grace, is immortal in Christ Jesus. Wherefore, when the dominion of sin and death is destroyed, let us not sink back again into that bondage, but be the servants of righteousness; being now free in grace, and made righteous, that by grace we may live righteously.

Rom. vi. 10.

It was said above,¹ that from the Divine Spirit's essence, and from His power in the Church, came both spiritual *being* and *working*: our spiritual being from the Divine essence, our working from the Divine power. Now there was in Christ both the very essence of God and of His Spirit, and also His power. Hence He existed as God, and wrought marvellously. And those who have spiritual being and working, have them from the very fact that they are in Christ. In His essence they *are* spiritual, and by His power they *act* spiritually.

Concerning this Spirit and power, from whence the souls

¹ See note above, p. 37.

of the elect have their gift of spiritual being and working, St. Luke thus writes in his Gospel. The angel Gabriel, he relates, spake to Zacharias the priest concerning John, the son that was to be born unto him, who was *filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb*. And the angel said: *he shall go before him in the SPIRIT and POWER of Elias*; Luk. i. 17. meaning, that he should be spiritual, and work spiritually, as Elias did. Afterwards, when the same angel was announcing to Mary, in the city of Galilee called Nazareth, that the child born of her should be *great, and the Son of the Highest*, he ver. 32. showed in what manner that was to be, by saying: *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.* ver. 35.

In this Spirit and power of Christ are men;—spiritual, and acting spiritually. Subordinate to the Spirit's essence is spiritual being in all Christians; and subordinate to His power, their working. We are sanctified, and born saints in Christ, that along with Him we may be sons of God. Those only can see Christ, who, by participation in His Spirit, believe the Godhead in Christ; a truth which *flesh and blood hath not revealed*, but Christ's *Father which is in heaven*. Matt. xvi. 17. Those whom God has begotten again by his Holy Spirit, are made spiritual in His Son; that they may look upon Him in the Son by the spiritual eye of faith, and through God in Christ may act spiritually: which is the love of God in the will.

Thus faith, which worketh love, is at once *being* and *power* in man. It is a spiritual begetting again of God, through the presence of His Spirit; who is wholly in each single one, and out of any one of them brings forth a spiritual man.

This Spirit, small at first as a *grain of mustard seed*, Matt. xvii. 20. appeared as a root and tender plant; then it grew as a tree, and diffused itself through all the branches. In this tree of faith, whose root is Christ, other branches are ingrafted, in place of those broken off. But if the branches have withered, by the Spirit's being driven away, then does the Spirit withdraw itself to the root, even Christ; abiding

in the branches no longer than they themselves shine with the Spirit's anointing, and are united to God in hope, and have an unclouded confidence in God. If they are shaken and divided among themselves, or dried up so as to be lopped off, the vital Spirit then withdraws itself, and retires to the root. For the Spirit of God is not quenched: but, when a state of unity is broken up, He in His oneness departs to the one Jesus Christ.

*IN THE MYSTICAL BODY, THE SPIRIT OF GOD
FEELS AT EVERY PART.*

THE Holy Spirit is present to every part of the Body, that is, to every man in Christ, in all His fulness; for in all His fulness He feels the suffering of any part of the Body whatsoever. Let any, even the very least, member in the Church be hurt, and the Spirit, the soul of the Church, feels it, and instantly centres its attention thither. If the foot of the Church be hurt, the eye turns its gaze towards it, the hands apply themselves, the mouth cries aloud for pain, and the rest of the members in like manner—spiritual men, I mean—feel the shock simultaneously. As is the one Spirit, who is in all; so are all, who are in the one Spirit of Christ. What is in the lowest member, is also in them all. Hence the reason of their common feeling, common pain, common joy. Where the Spirit is in pain, it is in pain everywhere; where it rejoices, it rejoices everywhere alike:—that is, it causes pain and joy to be felt throughout. For the Spirit is everywhere one; and from this oneness of the Spirit there is a common feeling,¹ even where there is not a common hurt. All the members are

¹ Lat. *communis sensus*,—an expression elsewhere used by Colet in its technical sense of “perception;” the inland sea, as one writer describes it, to which the streams of the five outer senses convey their tribute.—See the note on *Lectures on Romans*, p. 76. Here it is employed without any such philosophical meaning.

one in God through the Spirit, who is present in His fulness to all; that they may all be united in Him, with feelings, tastes, wishes, desires, and actions, all in common.

Where there is schism and separation, there is no one common feeling. But where there is one Spirit, fully present in all, nothing can happen to any member of Christ, however small, without the whole Spirit of Christ being affected by it. For the Spirit extends itself in vital tension throughout the whole CHRIST;¹ and is inwardly present to all the members at once, as well as fully present to every single member. It spiritualizes and makes godlike those members—I mean, the called among men—some with more intensity, some with less: but all of them it so unites in the fellowship of the Spirit, that what happens in a part only, is felt throughout the whole.

Hence it is plain, that this transmissive power of the Spirit, as well as the substance of the Spirit itself, is present in all its fulness to every single member—that is, to every single man. And the intent thereof is that, whatever happens in any part of the Church, should be instantly felt by all; that all the members should feel a common sympathy and concord; and that all men, through the secret control of the Spirit, should at once apply a remedy to the injured part. For what is in each one of them, is also in them all; though showing itself variously, on account of the various media through which it is seen.

There are many *diversities of gifts*, but one Spirit. And though that Spirit infuses itself with varying intensity into different men, yet is it everywhere, and in all of them in its oneness and entirety; that all should sympathize and concur together. 1 Cor. xii. 4.

¹ For this use of the name, to express the Body of Christ's Church, in connection with its Divine Head, see the *Lect. on I. Corinthians*, p. 5, n.



EXPOSITION OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE
TO THE ROMANS.



INTRODUCTION.

IN the Epistle written by St. Paul the Apostle to the Romans, he counsels peace and concord to those who in that city bore the name of Christ.

For there were among them three disputes: the first, between the Jews and Gentiles; the second, between the Christians and Heathens; the third, in the Christian community itself, between those who were stronger in faith and those who were weaker.

1. The Gentiles and Jews were mutually accusing one another; each party in turn presumptuously claiming a precedence over the other. But the arrogance of the Jews was the greater and more overweening of the two. Accordingly, when St. Paul interposes to allay this fierce contention, he uses indeed many arguments to abate the haughtiness of the Gentiles; but still it is to the Jews that he chiefly addresses himself, directing against their faction the main force and point of his discourse. For the Jews were a stiff-necked race, ever struggling against the yoke of humility.

Both parties, Jew and Gentile alike, St. Paul endeavours to raise to a higher level; to lift them above all distinction of Jew and Gentile, and to lodge them both immoveably in Jesus Christ alone. For He alone is sufficient; He is all things; in Him alone is the salvation and justification of mankind.—After declaring the Church to consist alike of Jews and Gentiles, the Apostle then describes the nature of the Christian Church, its duties and actions.

2. It was a matter of hot dispute with many, in what way the Christians at Rome were to conduct themselves towards the heathen, among whom they lived, now that

they were under their power:—I mean, how far they were to endure wrongs at their hands, and to what extent they were to pay the tribute exacted. Under this head, St. Paul prudently inculcates peace and obedience.

3. The third dissension and strife was in the Church itself, between the stronger in faith and the weaker. In this case, scrupulous persons, of weak conscience, were shocked at the boldness of their stronger brethren; while the latter, relying on the judgment of their own conscience, looked down upon the weak.—The matter in debate was the eating of meats; namely, to what lengths they might go in the way of different kinds of food. By the ceremonial law of the Jews many kinds were forbidden. Many, for example, abhorred the *idolothyta*, or things offered in sacrifice unto idols. But yet there were some, who acted boldly in this respect as they considered lawful, and ate on every occasion what they pleased, thoughtlessly and inconsiderately, with no small scandal and offence to the weak. In this case, therefore, St. Paul lays down that kindly account must be taken of the weak; that the understanding and conscience of the feebler ones must not be shocked by any over boldness of action even in what was lawful; that offence must be avoided, edification sought, and peace maintained by a settlement of their disputes.

In the first of these disputes he counsels humility; in the second, patience; in the third, charity.

After giving a reason for writing to the Romans, and promising after a time to visit them, he finally concludes his Epistle with remembrances and salutations.

Rom. i.
1—7.

HE first salutes the Romans. And in this salutation he shows that he had been *called* and *separated* to be an apostle, that he might proclaim the Son of God, who is God and man, even Jesus: man, of the corruptible *seed of David*; but *declared to be the Son of God* by His *resurrection from the dead*. As man, He died; as God, He rose again in the glory of His power. He was weak, in the part of His nature derived from man; but mighty, in the part which He had co-eternal with God, whereby *according to the Spirit*

He rose again in power, and now liveth immortal in heaven. By this immortal Jesus was Paul called to the service of God, to obey the law of faith in grace as an apostle, and to teach the word of faith to all mankind.

He next shows them that he is thankful for their faith, *ver. 8.* and prays God for them; desiring greatly to come to them, that he may be a sower of spiritual grace, and reap hereafter the fruits of righteousness unto eternal life. It was his bounden duty, he tells them, to preach the gospel to all mankind. That gospel was *the power of God unto salvation ver. 16.* to them that believed. In it was revealed the righteousness of faith; and in it also *the wrath of God was revealed against unbelievers, especially those who, when they knew God, yet worshipped idols, and lived shameful lives.*

The Gentiles knew God from His creatures. The Jews knew God from His written word and law. For God taught men concerning Himself both by His creatures, which *declare the glory of God,* and by His written word. *Ps. xix. 1.* These are His two books. The book of creation was set open before the philosophers of the Gentiles: the book of His written word was delivered to the leaders of the Jews. Yet both, *when they knew God, glorified Him not as God,* nor lived in Him as wise men. Neglecting Him in their wickedness, they fell into every kind of enormity, perishing in themselves; both doing such things, and consenting *ver. 32.* unto them that do them.

LET¹ no one take upon himself the great office of a preacher of God, unless called thereto by Divine grace, and appointed by God Himself.

Let not a preacher turn his steps to any place, save with the purpose of *imparting his own spiritual grace,* by word or *ver. 11.* by example, that there may spring up therefrom the fruits of righteousness.

¹ Here, as at the beginning and end of some of the subsequent chapters, Colet sets down a number of more or less detached aphorisms, or reflections on the chapter under consideration. The regular exposition begins at p. 56, below.

When religion is neglected, men sink most lamentably into every kind of wickedness.

The source of all virtues is piety, and worship of the true God.

The wisdom of philosophers, so far as they had any knowledge of the truth, was from the revelation of God.

ver. 19. *For God, says St. Paul, has revealed unto them that which may be known of God.*

ver. 32. Not only to commit evil, but to consent in any degree to one committing it, is a deadly thing.

Our heavenly Father, the Creator of all, showed men what His greatness was by His creatures; and manifested His *invisible* and intelligible *things* by the sensible creation; yea, even His own Godhead itself, which made them all, *by the things that are made*. In the world of creation, as in a book, contemplative philosophers might easily have recognized God, and worshipped the Creator made known by His creatures.

This was great goodness on the part of God, to show Himself, in the first place, plainly by His creatures. But far greater goodness was it, to show Himself afterwards by His words; and far the greatest of all, to show Himself lastly by His Son. Long before, by the prophets, had He promised that His own eternal Son should come into the world. For the prophets foretold in the Spirit, that there should be glad tidings of the Son of God in the world, through whom all things were to proceed from the Father unto men. And as it had been promised, so in due time it came to pass.

Our Lord Jesus Christ is the Son of God, a mediator between God the Father and us His children. Through Him all things come forth from God our Father to us His children; and through Him again all returns from us to God our Father. He it is, whose glad tidings and whose revelation were promised. He is God and He is man: God of God, man of man; son of man, according to the corruption of the flesh, in weakness; being *made of the seed of David*, liable to death along with the rest for whom

vv. 4, 5.

death is in store : but *declared to be the Son of God*, according to holiness, *with power, by the resurrection from the dead*. For He was the first who rose again.

The Spirit of holiness, as St. Paul here calls Him, is the Holy Spirit of God Himself, who is the sanctifier and quickener of men, their grace-giver and peace-maker with God. He is therefore that *grace and peace* of men, proceeding alike from the Father and the Son, which St. Paul so often wishes for those to whom he writes. That same Spirit is the awe-inspiring *love* of God ; which makes men loving and loveable, both towards God and men, towards themselves and others, in the love of God. ver. 7.

PAUL, *called and separated, served God the Father with his spirit in the gospel of His Son* ; praying to God in fear, teaching men in love. He was a debtor, by his office, to all alike. He *was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ* ; though that was to the Jews a stumbling-block, to the Greeks foolishness. He longed to come safely to the Romans, and sought it of God again and again ; that he might impart to them some share of his own spiritual grace. ver. 9.
ver. 16.
1 Cor. i.
23.

This is the office of an apostle of Christ, to pray and teach in Christ ; to sow, that he may reap the fruits of righteousness ; to labour, that as many as possible may come to the light of the gospel of Christ, to be enlightened and made spiritual in Him.

The gospel of God had been *promised afore by God the Father through His prophets in the holy scriptures, concerning His Son* : namely, that it had been ordained that the Son should in process of time come in the flesh, and reveal all things necessary to salvation. The gospel is *the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth*, since it has the power of making him righteous. *Therein is the righteousness of God revealed*, as also His wrath. And this righteousness comes from faith ; not from the reason of the Gentiles, nor from the law of the Jews. It is the righteousness, I repeat, of simple faith, far above all reason and law. And by it believers are to be justified ; provided that they ver. 2.
ver. 16.
ver. 17.

imitate Christ in their faith, and do good works. Moreover in the gospel *the wrath of God is revealed*; and judgment and condemnation openly pronounced against all the ungodly and profane; who, whilst knowing God (in whatever measure that might be), worshipped idols in their iniquity.

CHRISTIANS are men called by the grace of God in a wonderful manner, that they may be sanctified; and, when sanctified, may be the acceptable sons of God, being now beautiful in Christ Jesus their beautifier: for He was the most beautiful upon earth, *fairer than the children of men*. They are the wheat of the garner; yea, they are the pure fine flour¹ of the wheat; that of them may be made the white bread of God. They are called *faithful*; in faith being righteous: hoping in God with a most single eye. By grace they are resplendent: by the spirit of God they are good: in the clear Spirit of God, beneath the Sun of righteousness, they move safely and majestically onwards to eternal life.

THE wise men of the world, those who philosophized as they studied the book of creation, plainly read therein of one God, almighty and eternal. And the expression *that which may be known of God* either means what *they* knew concerning Him, or else whatever can be known by man, from the indications of created things. They knew at any rate that He was the creator and maker of all: and, starting from the sensible, they arrived at the intelligible, and at God. But in their ungodliness they worshipped not God when they knew Him. In their wisdom, they were utterly profane towards God, and unjust towards men. For they worshipped images, and lived unjustly. In the midst of light, they were cold²: in wisdom, they were altogether bad: in words boastful, in deeds most foolish.

¹ Lat. *semila*.—See the *Hierarchies*, p. 57.

² See note above, p. 31.

VAIN and empty is our knowledge, if we do not, as a consequence thereof, worship God aright, and live lawfully with our fellow men.

Wisdom is judged to be true and sound, according to the fruits it bears, in what we do towards God and men.

Living wisdom makes a man worship God in humility, live temperately, and lovingly benefit his fellow men.

Those puny philosophers of the world, through neglecting God, fell into folly and wickedness ; being *given up to* vv. 24, 26. *the lusts of their own hearts, to vile affections, to a reprobate mind.*

Irreligion and neglect of God is the source of all evils.

True religion, through Jesus Christ, is the root of all good.

CHAPTER I.

THE Romans had not yet seen St. Paul, nor he them. And so, that they might not be wondering, and saying to themselves "Who is this, that writes so long a letter to us"?, he plainly sets forth who he is in the forefront of his Epistle; saying, *a servant of Jesus Christ*, that is, a worshipper of Jesus. Under this title he propitiated the good will of the Christians to whom he wrote; since they had long ago begun to worship Christ. He adds: *called to be an apostle*; as though to say, "not only a *servant*, as all Christians are, but also an *apostle*"; that is, one *sent*: for I am called by sovereign grace to the number of those that are to be sent." But, inasmuch as there are various purposes, for which a man may be called to be thus sent, he further adds: *separated unto the gospel of God*; to imply that he had been separated from the generality of those sent, for this object alone; namely, to preach the gospel, and carry to all nations the good news of God concerning His Son their Saviour.

St. Luke relates in the Acts how the Spirit said at Antioch, *Separate me Barnabas and Saul*—that is, Paul—for the work whereunto I have called them: and also, at Damascus, how He said to Ananias, *Go thy way to Paul*; for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel. The same thing is testified by St. Paul, when, writing to the Corinthians, he says of himself: *For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel*.

By *gospel* is meant the good tidings for the world concerning Christ Jesus; in whom alone those who would be saved have the whole way of salvation. And as these tidings were sent into the world by God, through the Apostles, they are therefore called *the gospel of God*; which he had promised afore by his prophets in the holy scriptures. He first determined that it should so be done, before the formation of the

ver. 1.

Acts xiii.
2.

Ib. ix. 15.

1 Cor. i. 17.

Rom. i. 1, 2.

world, and it lay treasured up in the depths of His mind.¹ Then He announced it by the prophets; and last of all His Son came in the flesh, as had been foretold.

St. Paul said this, that the Jews, who listened to the prophets, might accept Jesus. The Gentiles also gave a readier assent to the word, when they learnt that what they heard concerning Jesus, had been often foretold in former times. For novelties, of which no reason has previously been given, are rejected the moment they are heard.

Which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh.—Jesus Christ was both *according to the flesh* and *according to the Spirit*. He was man, and He was God. As man, He died in weakness; as God, He rose again in power. The Apostle confesses plainly that Jesus was God; and also that He was man *according to the flesh*, that is, His human nature. *The Word was made flesh of the seed of David*, in the Virgin Mary, who was of the stock of David. ver. 3. John i. 14.

And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead, even Jesus Christ our Lord.—This same Jesus Christ, the Son of God, *according to the Spirit of holiness*, and in respect of the spiritual, superhuman part of His nature, whereby He was God, was *declared* and shown to be the *Son of God*, and truly God, *with power*—with great might—*by the resurrection of the dead, even Jesus Christ*; namely, by the fact that He rose again so gloriously, by His own power and might, on the third day from the dead. Christ's resurrection was the first, for He was the *first fruits of them that slept*. For from the fact of Christ's rising again from the dead, and now living to die no more in heaven, it is plainly evident that He is the Son of God. ver. 4. 1 Cor. xv. 20.

By whom we have received grace and apostleship:—even by Jesus, now undying and glorious in heaven. It was in such guise that He appeared to Paul; whereas the other Apostles had been called by Jesus before His death.—*For obedience to the faith among all nations*: that is, to call all ver. 5.

¹ Lat. "et erat alta mente repositum;" a reminiscence of Virg. Aen. I. 26, "manet alta mente repostum."

nations to the law of faith. For the effect of his office was to make men believe in Christ, and humbly hope in God, that in hope they might be saved:—*for his name*, even Jesus Christ's, by whom they that humbly obey God have a way
 ver. 6. unto salvation. *Among whom*, thus humbly believing God in Christ, *are ye also*, Romans, *the called of Jesus Christ*; not setting out in your own strength, but *called* by a mysterious attraction, to reach Christ and to be His.

ver. 7. *To all that be in Rome*.—There were some there, both from Jews and Gentiles, *beloved of God*, whom God loved, and in His love called, and who were thus *called to be saints*; that is, called to live holily in a holy God. By this he means all persons of the Christian profession; which is one of holiness. *Grace to you and peace from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ*.—In his salutation to the Roman Christians, he wishes them *grace and peace*, that is, gracious peace,¹ at once from God the Father and from God the Son; a peace which, like the Holy Spirit itself, might proceed upon them from both. In these words he wishes them a fulness of the Holy Spirit; that, having been called by God the Father through His Son Jesus, they might live in the peace of the Spirit. Nor would his wish and desire for spiritual peace for them be without reason, seeing that there was then a threefold dissension in the Roman Church: one between the Jews and Gentiles, another between the faithful and the heathen, and a third among the faithful themselves, between those who were stronger in the faith and those who were weaker.

Thus much concerning the Salutation.

ver. 8. *FIRST I thank my God*, whom I worship after a spiritual manner, and whom I call *mine* through love.—He means

¹ "*Gratiam et pacem*, id est, gratiosam pacem." In the abstract of the Epist. to Philemon in the MS. "O. 4. 44" (referred to in the Preface), there is an expression used, which might seem to betoken the same hand:—"quia *gratiosa pax* nihil aliud est quam Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus hominum, etc."

God the Father, who would have Paul to be His son. He is the God of all men ; but excess of love will sometimes monopolize all for itself.—*Through Jesus Christ.*—All things come to us from the Father, and from us to Him, through Jesus Christ ; a fitting mean, as being God and man. For in all our dealings with God, whether it be prayer or giving of thanks, we do all through Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and men.—*For you all :* the faithful, who believe in Christ and hope in God ; *that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world :* the report being spread abroad in all quarters, that Jesus Christ had been heard of by a multitude of Romans.

God is my witness : is a kind of oath ; God being called ver. 9. to witness in serious matters, and those of which there is but partial knowledge.—*Whom I serve with my spirit :* worshipping Him spiritually, not carnally, as do the Jews ; all whose service and religion is carnal. Jesus said to the woman of Samaria : *The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth ; for the Father seeketh such to worship him.* John iv. 23, 24. *God is a Spirit : and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.*—*In the gospel of his Son :* to which I am separated, that I may preach Jesus the Son of God.—And in this gospel the bishops and prelates of our own days also would do service, if they were wise ; instead of serving the kings and princes of the earth. For before these they prostrate themselves, like the meanest serfs ; forsaking that special office of bishops, the honourable office of preaching. They would rather look up to a king in his court, than to God in His church.¹—*That without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers :* that you always come into my mind when I am praying.—*Making request :* with great longing—*if by any* ver. 10.

¹ In his brave Convocation Sermon, Colet afterwards spoke quite as strongly : " Let it be rehersed also to my lordes these monkes, chanons, and religious men . . . that they sewe nat in princis courtes for erthly thynges, &c." The oft-quoted passage about "unpreaching prelates," from Latimer's Sermon of the Plough, a generation later, will occur to the reader at once in illustration of the text.

means : by any whatever—*now* : at last—I *might at length* : at some time—*have a prosperous journey by the will of God to come unto you* : safely, that is, and without danger ; and also to receive some fruit in you.

St. Paul had an ardent longing to visit the Romans, that he might there also perceive some fruit of his office.

ver. 11. Wherefore he adds: *For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift.* His desire of coming to them was no carnal one, with the object of some temporal pleasure or advantage, but a spiritual one ; that he might share with them the Holy Spirit he had received. And, lest the Romans should disdainfully think with themselves, that they too had received and were possessed of a spiritual gift, St. Paul modifies his words, not to offend them, and temperately adds: *to the end ye may be established.* Nay, lest even this should hurt their feelings, he

ver. 12. subjoins, still more delicately: *that is, that I may be comforted together with you* : as though to say, Neither for the sake of teaching, nor of establishing you, do I wish to come to Rome ; but for the sake of *comfort*.—*By the mutual faith both of you and me* : by our common faith ; to the intent that, by an interchange of discourse about the sweet Jesus, and our hopes in Him, we might receive every comfort in the grace of God.

With soft and gentle hands does St. Paul draw them to him at first, that he may render them favourably disposed for what follows. For in truth St. Paul was the most considerate,¹ as well as the best, of men ; having regard both to persons, places, circumstances, and times ; and wonderful is the forethought with which he adapted his words so as to be most useful.

ver. 13. *Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren* : sons of God in Christ along with myself ; but I would have you know—that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you : in your city of Rome—but was let hitherto : being hindered

¹ Colet's admiration for these features in the Apostle's character shows itself again and again. See for example the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, pp. 9 and 51.

thus far by incessant occupations, by continual preaching, and by the establishment of churches.—Nobly did St. Paul discharge the office of an archbishop, ever busily hastening from city to city, torch in hand, to light up and inflame the world with faith and love to God in Jesus Christ.—*That I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles*: the fruit of true religion and righteousness. I am a sower, that I may reap: I am scattering, that I may gather. This is my office, to which I am chosen.—*I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians; both to the wise* (referring to the Greeks, who arrogated to themselves the title of wisdom), *and to the unwise* (referring to the Barbarians, who were esteemed to be devoid of polite wisdom): as much as to say: It is my bounden duty, according to my office, to preach to every kind of men. He says the same to the Corinthians: *For necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.*—*So*: and so I am a debtor—as much as in me is: as I am fully prepared—to you also: even to you—that are at Rome: who are the chief nation of the world—I am ready to preach the gospel; and to bring the good news of God concerning His Son, Christ, and to testify of Him at Rome, the capital of the world.

For I am not ashamed of the gospel, nor put to confusion in it, as though it were some weak and foolish thing; as to the foolish it appears. I know what it is.—*For it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.* Our preaching is of God's power over men through Christ, whereby He graciously justifies the believer, and in His might condemns the unbeliever. Nothing more powerful, I repeat, has been seen upon the earth, than Jesus dying the death that conquered death. This indeed appeared unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness, as St. Paul writes to the Corinthians; but unto us which are called, the power of God, and the wisdom of God. For we are saved in virtue of what is preached concerning Christ, if only we believe it.—*To the Jew first, and also to the Greek.*—St. Paul uniformly shows this honour to the Jews; I mean, in setting them before the Gentiles.

Matt. xv.
24.

Not that God is an acceptor of persons, but because He observes a certain order in the bestowal of His grace; counting some as first, with whom to begin sending down fire upon the earth. These were the Jews. Jesus said: *I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.* Though men be gathered to God without distinction, from every nation under heaven, yet there must needs be a starting-point for the work, that grace may proceed in due order. And it was on account of the close relations of God in ancient times with the Jews, whom He chose for Himself as a peculiar people, that Christ offered Himself to them first; meaning afterwards to show the like grace to the Gentiles.

ver. 17.

For therein (that is, in the gospel) is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith. If men believe the gospel, they are saved; since there is revealed in it the righteousness by which alone comes salvation, even the righteousness of faith. Men will be saved, not by righteousness from the law, but by righteousness from faith; seeing that it is *righteousness from faith* that is revealed in the gospel; wherein it is announced that there is no other hope of salvation, excepting in the faith of Jesus Christ, and a simple hope in the mercy of God.

What the Apostle means by adding the words *to faith*, I candidly own that I do not know: ¹ unless perchance it be to indicate a successive order in faith, since he said just before: *to the Jew first, and also to the Greek.* The faith which had its first beginning among the Jews, flowed on in due course to the Gentiles. Whence we may understand that the *righteousness from faith*, after taking its rise among

¹ The light which might have been thrown on this expression from the similar one in vi. 19, is somewhat obscured by the difference of wording in the Vulgate. As Bp. Wordsworth explains it, it is a "Faith growing continually, and rising from one degree to another, going on *from strength to strength.*"—Colet would have found the same explanation in Clement of Alexandria: "Apostolus videtur duplicem fidem annuntiare; sed potius tamen unicam tantum annuntiat, quæ per incrementa ad perfectionem contendat."—See the passage from his *Stromata* quoted in Beza's Annotations on the text.

the Jews, extended afterwards *to the faith* of the Gentiles. That men's righteousness is from faith, not from the law, St. Paul proves by the text subjoined as an authority: *It is written*, he says, *the just shall live by faith*. Eternal life will be from the righteousness of faith alone. Hab. ii. 4.

We must here remark, how simple was the mode of citation followed by the Apostles, when they quoted any passage from the Old Testament.¹ This way of ours, which is now in vogue, both with modern theologians and lawyers, of citing authorities from every quarter so minutely by the chapter,² had its origin in the ignorance of men who mistrusted themselves and their own learning; and who feared that otherwise credence would not be given them; losing their case, in their own secret estimation, unless propped up by supports of this kind. And in process of time this painful and over scrupulous alleging of authorities has risen to such a pitch, that many devote themselves to it for the mere commendation of memory. In a kind of self-display they make their quotations, and find pleasure in heaping up the sayings of other people; paying more heed to number than fitness; that they may be thought to have read and remembered much.

But the one who is conscious of his own real knowledge, and can rely on himself; the good scribe who has the means of *bringing forth out of his treasure things new and old*, whether in writing or speaking, proceeds in a bolder and more dignified way. His quotations from other sources, if at times he makes any, are both fewer and simpler, and drawn from a remoter antiquity. He uses them without self-display, without any servile deference to the judgment of others. This is what was done by St. Paul and the Matt. xiii. 52.

¹ The same observation had before been made by Origen, when pointing out the verbal differences between the quotations in Rom. iii. 10 sqq. and the original in the Psalms:—"Quod ab studiosis quibusque si observetur diligentius, puto dari in hoc Apostolicam auctoritatem, ut, cum Scripturæ testimoniis utendum fuerit, sensum magis ex ea, quam verba, capiamus."—*Comment. in Rom.* (ed. 1836), p. 173.

² We should now say, "by chapter and verse." But the division of the Bible into verses did not take place till 1551.

other Apostles, and by a host of grave divines, for eight hundred years after their time.

But let us return to our subject.

ver. 18.

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. This is a second reason why St. Paul should not be ashamed of the gospel. For he gives two reasons: one, that which he spoke of but now, referring to the *mercy* of God, exceeding powerful, and justifying believers by faith; the other, this which concerns the *wrath* of God and His avenging justice, and which is revealed in the gospel as well as the other. The truth of Christ proclaims not only mercy to the humble, but also wrath to the proud. And Christ Himself, as the aged Simeon

Luke ii. 34.

foretold, was set for the falling and rising again of many.

Ps. ci. 1.

I will sing of mercy and judgment unto thee, O Lord. As

Ib. ver. 6.

regards *mercy*, the prophet added: *Mine eyes shall be upon the faithful of the land.* But as regards *judgment*, he con-

Ib. ver. 8.

tinued: *I will early destroy all the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all wicked doers from the city of the Lord.* This is the wrath of God which is revealed in the gospel. God indeed is not wroth; but feeble man speaks of God in human fashion, even as He speaks of man in divine; and ascribes to God human emotions. In reality, God's being angry is His not having mercy; and His anger is a just and stern decree to punish offenders. This wrath is revealed as about to come from heaven on *all ungodliness* towards God, and *unrighteousness* towards men (though these two words are used promiscuously), on the part of those men, *who hold the truth in unrighteousness*: who know God, but do not worship Him: who in wisdom are not good, in light are not warm, and who bring forth no fruit from the root of knowledge.—Understand by this the wise men and philosophers of the world, who know much, but live ungodly and unrighteously.

ver. 19.

Because that which may be known of God by them, and what they have learnt concerning God (which indeed they have not learnt by their own powers and their own investigation alone, but by the manifestation of God; since the things of God knoweth no man, but the

1 Cor. ii.
11.

Spirit of God:—therefore he adds) *is manifest in them*; that is, manifested and made plain in them by revelation. For God hath revealed to them whatever they know concerning Him. And He has so revealed it by His creatures; which testify beyond doubt to a Creator, good, beautiful, and mighty; one, unchanging, and eternal. Thus far at least did the researches of philosophers penetrate. And hence the conclusion: *For the invisible things of Him*—that is, God the Creator—are *by the creature of the world*, that is, by *man*, who is often called *the creature* in Scripture¹:—by worldly *man*, I say, *the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood*—that is, through the understanding—*by the things that are made*: namely, by created and sensible things. As though he would say: by means of sensible things *the creature of the world*, that is, *man* in this world, can to a certain degree understand the things of God, which are beyond sight and sense.

It was by this path that the philosophers advanced towards the knowledge of God; since all their knowledge had its origin in sense,² and it was by means of this world, which they saw and beheld, that they at length understood the unseen God. For, as St. John testifies, *No man hath seen God, nor can see. Upon the wings of the wind, saith the prophet, he made darkness his secret place.* And St. Paul in another place says that *He dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto.* But yet, under the teaching of created things, philosophers did reach a certain point, and saw by the understanding *the invisible things of God, even his eternal power and Godhead.* That is to say: the creature of the world, the philosopher man, could easily,

ver. 20.

Joh. i. 18.
1 Tim. vi.
16.
Ps. xviii.
10, 11.
1 Tim. vi.
16.

¹ This was a common interpretation of the words *a creatura mundi*, rendered in our Version "from the creation of the world." Thus Dionysius Carthusianus, in his comment on the text, writes: "*A creatura mundi, id est, ab homine, qui inter creaturas hujus sensibilis mundi primatum sortitur.*" It was defended by Mark xvi. 15: "preach the gospel to *every creature*;" but it has not been followed in the Rhemish version any more than in our own.

² "*Janua intellectus est sensus; quia, teste Aristotele, nihil est in intellectu, quin prius fuerit et in sensu.*"—Baptista Mantuanus, *De Patient.* III. 4.

- through the things that are made, see God, omnipotent and eternal. For no weak and mortal creature could have planned and constructed the vast mechanism of the universe. —*So that they are without excuse.*—No one in the world, no human creature, has been able to excuse himself for his ungodliness or unrighteousness, on the score of ignorance of God; since He has been proved to be one, omnipotent, and eternal, by the things that are made. Rather should we
- ver. 21. lay the blame on man's idolatrous nature; *because that, when they knew God the Maker, by the things that are made, they glorified him not as God—did not extol Him, or render Him glorious by worship and confession; neither were thankful for benefits received; but became vain in their imaginations, and fell away to vanity; and their foolish heart was darkened,*
- ver. 22. *by being deprived of the light of wisdom. For professing themselves to be wise, and to know God, they became fools* really and in fact, under the obscuring influence of idolatry, and the gloom of image-worship.
- ver. 23. *And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, His worship and exaltation, for the likeness of an image—for the false worship of an image, by doing to images what they would do to God: images, I say, of corruptible man, and of birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. This vanity and superstition was in existence among the Gentiles in various parts of the world, everywhere overclouding the*
- ver. 24. *minds of men. Wherefore—because they had left God, and turned to images, God gave them up to the lusts of their own hearts.* In leaving God, they are themselves left to their
- ver. 26, 28. *own lusts, to vile affections, to a reprobate mind. From this source, even from neglect of religion and of the worship of the true God, sprang the fountain of our woes; from this, the outgushings of sin; from this, the deaths of them that die. In idolatry the world found its ruin. Men plunged headlong into imaginations of all uncleanness, so as to dishonour their own bodies between themselves, and defile them by shameless and unutterable lust. Of this the Apostle speaks more plainly afterwards. And they fell into this depravity because they changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator,*
- ver. 25.

who is blessed for ever. Amen. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections, &c.

I designedly shut my eyes to this passage, and pass it over; lest, if I expatiated without restraint on so infamous a topic, I might chance to employ too immodest language, and shock the pure minds of some guileless ones. When I expounded the passage orally to my well-mannered young friend, Edmund,¹ for whose instruction I undertook this literal exposition; after I had made some remarks, with unfeigned reluctance, in explanation of the abominable nature of their sin, I at length asked the boy whether he understood anything of what St. Paul referred to. And on his replying, that he could not even guess at the meaning of those expressions, I was so charmed by the youth's simplicity, that I checked myself at once; that he might not learn matters, which it were better for him to be ignorant of than to know.

✓ *And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient. By their idolatrous deeds they showed that they knew not God, being filled with these evil things which follow:—* ver. 28.
vv. 29—31.

Unrighteousness,	Envy,
Wickedness,	Murder,
Fornication,	Debate,
Covetousness,	Deceit,
Maliciousness,	Malignity;
and being	
Whisperers,	Disobedient to parents,
Backbiters,	Without understanding,
Haters of God,	Covenant breakers,
Despightful,	Without natural affection,
Proud,	Implacable,
Boasters,	Unmerciful,
✓ Inventors of evil things,	Fools in their knowledge;

¹ The question of who this Edmund was has been discussed in the Introduction.

ver. 32. not knowing that *they which do such things are worthy of death*:—not only those who actually commit them, but those also who *consent unto them that do them*, whether by approving thereof, or by making no protest. For to be silent about those things, and not to reprove them, is a mortal sin.

ALTHOUGH what is said by St. Paul in the first Chapter is directed chiefly against the idolatrous Gentiles, yet it may be fitly applied to the Jews also. And Paul had an eye to them as well. For with them every kind of vice flowed from that same fountain, namely, the neglect of religion:—from their worship of God not being in proportion to their knowledge of Him. As the *creature of the world*¹ understood its Creator *by the things that are made*, so the Jews might have understood, not only by the things that are *made*, but also much more by the things that are *written*; I mean, by the Scriptures which were left them, and by the *oracles of God*; seeing that *God spake unto the fathers at sundry times and in divers manners*. But for all that they fell away from the true worship of God. Hence arose all their iniquity; and hence the sins that St. Paul makes mention of, reigned in them. They held the truth of God in what was a living lie, and *professing themselves to be wise, they became fools*. Having forsaken God, they turned to idols and vanities; and therefore *God gave them up to the lusts of their own hearts, unto vile affections, to a reprobate mind. This was the wrath of God*.

Heb. i. 1.

ver. 22.

MEN were taught by God in three ways and methods: namely, by His sensible creation; by His spiritual and angelic creation; and by His Son, very God, co-eternal with Himself. By His sensible creation He manifested Himself to *every creature*, that is, to every man. By the angelic spirits, and by His words, He showed Himself still

¹ That is, *man*.—See note above, p. 65.

more openly to the chosen Jews. By His Son, made man, He revealed Himself far most clearly and intimately of all to the most chosen of all, even Christians. As St. Paul wrote to the Hebrews, *He hath in these last days, spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made all things.* Besides the knowledge that we can obtain from created things, in common with the race of created men throughout the world; and the knowledge drawn from Scripture, ministered to us by angels, which we have in common with the Jews; we Christians have a far more exalted knowledge and wisdom of God through *the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, who has Himself declared all things.* Heb. i. 2. John i. 18.

Wherefore, if the wrath of God will be against those Gentiles, who held the truth of God in unrighteousness, though taught by His creatures; and also against the Jews, who were clearly taught by angels and by the oracles of God; how great shall the wrath of God hereafter be against us Christians, if we *hold the truth in unrighteousness*, and do not worship God in proportion to our knowledge of Him? *For God hath shewed it unto us. For the invisible things of him are by us, the new creature of the world, or rather, of heaven, understood and clearly seen, not only by the things that are made, and by what is written, but by the words of His Son, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that we beyond all other men are without excuse, if, whilst knowing God, we have not glorified him as God, nor been thankful; and our condemnation will be the greatest of all, if in such great light we tend to darkness. Great heed must we take, lest, professing ourselves to be wise, we become fools; lest we turn the glory of the incorruptible God into images; and worship—the covetous their gold, the gluttonous their belly, the lustful their passion, the proud their Lucifer; lest we change the truth of God into a lie, and serve the creature more than the Creator; and lest, as the issue of this, we be given up to the lusts of our own hearts, to vile affections, to a reprobate mind, and be left to wallow again in the mire of iniquity.* vv. 18, sqq.

As we consider from what a Teacher we received the

Heb. i. 2;
ii. 1—4.

truth, let us listen to what St. Paul wrote to the Hebrews, namely: *God hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. Therefore we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward; how shall we escape, to whom the Son has spoken, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?*

The Gentiles had philosophers, taught by created things: the Jews had prophets, taught by angels; and lastly we Christians have Apostles, fully taught by Jesus, who is God for evermore.

All the teaching of God has this object, namely, that those who are taught should look up to God, and worship Him, and in Him live righteously among men.

Ps. xiv.
1—4.

God cries aloud from heaven; from His holy mountain He cries unto men: Look at the works of creation; listen to the angels; hearken to my Son; that ye may be godly and just. The Gentiles did so look; the Jews did hear; we Christians have hearkened: and yet we are all alike so ungodly and unjust, that it would seem as though we had said in our hearts, with the wicked man of the Psalmist: *There is no God. We are corrupt, and become abominable. The Lord looked down from heaven to see: but they are all gone out of the way.*

Ps. lxxix. 1.

The vices that St. Paul here calls to mind, are now widely spread throughout the Christian world. The fountain of irreligion is opened; the streams of wickedness flow forth; the torrent of iniquity rolls vehemently along. Cry aloud, O Church of Christ, *Save me, O God, for the waters are come in, even unto my soul!* If thou, O God, have not mercy on thy people, we shall be overwhelmed with the deluge of our sins.¹

¹ Declaiming against the wickedness of the age may be thought too

CHAPTER II.

THEREFORE let not one who is himself a sinner, judge another, nor object against another what may be retorted upon himself; but let him rather take heed to himself, and fear, and repent while he may; remembering that every man shall receive according to his own works. Let not the Gentile object against the Jew, that he has not kept the law; but rather let him see what a sinner he himself was without the law. And let not the Jew object, that he is superior to the Gentile by the receiving of the law; but let him see whether he has kept the law, or not. For he that does well without the law shall be saved, since he lives by the law of his own upright conscience; and he that does ill under the law, shall be condemned as a transgressor of the law. So that to have the law, or to be without it, is alike unessential. The one who has it may be condemned, the other may be saved. All the efficacy consists in doing good; and true righteousness in the sight of God is that which is inward, in the spirit.

In this Chapter three things are affirmed of God, Himself also three and one; namely, His goodness, discernment, and justice.

In His goodness He is forbearing, gentle, and long-suffering. He waits long for men to repent. He would not that any should be condemned, but that all should be saved. To those who are truly softened and penitent God is straightway tender and merciful. He readily forgives them now, and will finally render to them, if they continue in well-doing, *glory and honour and immortality and peace.* ver. 7.

In His discernment, He is a beholder of men's deeds, without respect of persons; looking only whether they be good or bad. The Jew, as Jew, is no more acceptable to

general a practice, for any particular inference to be drawn from these words. But see the *Hierarchies*, p. 151, and *I. Corinthians*, p. 40.

God than the Gentile ; but as each one does, so will recompense be made him. God looks not at the flesh, or the body, or visible tokens ; but at the very depths of man's inward spirit.

- ver. 16. In His avenging justice He will truly and justly *judge the secrets of men* in the day of His wrath ; and, most of all,
 ver. 8. those who judge and condemn others, and will not *obey the truth*. For these there will be *wrath, indignation, tribulation, anguish*.

The Gentiles, hitherto made Christian in name rather than in reality, objected against the Jews their transgression of the law ; not knowing that the only thing which God takes note of, is a good life, in spirit, in grace, in Jesus Christ.

The Jews on the other hand, whose presumption was greater, and their haughtiness more overweening, boasted that they knew God, and had wisdom, and lived in the light. The heathen Gentiles they despised, in comparison with themselves ; judging them to be blind, foolish, and benighted. Their preaching was good ; their life, an evasion of the law. They caused the name of God to be evil spoken of among the Gentiles. They possessed sacraments and symbols, but observed not the law. And thus they were really Gentiles in spirit, though Jews in the flesh and body. Yet still, on becoming Christians, they condemned the sins of the Gentiles, while sinners themselves ; and esteemed themselves better than the others.

But true Christians, drawn from Jews and Gentiles alike, who are justified by their Heavenly Father through Jesus Christ in spirit and in grace, condemn not others, but only themselves. To these, the sins of their neighbours at once bring sorrow. These, *by patient continuance in well doing, seek for eternal life, and will have immortality, glory, honour, and peace* ; these do good without ceasing ; these are acceptable to God.

THEY who do well are acceptable and well-pleasing to God, without external signs and sacraments in the body. It is true spiritual goodness that is praised by God : the law

written in men's hearts. A Gentile, if a Jew in spirit, is counted for circumcised ; and the circumcised, if otherwise in spirit, is counted as uncircumcised. Whatever is truly spiritual, is Christian. For to the Christian all things are spiritual : even he himself, as St. John testifies, is a spirit. *He who is born of the Spirit,*¹ *saith he, is a spirit.*

John iii. 6.

THEREFORE thou art inexcusable, O man, that judgest, because thou hast changed the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature more than the Creator.—For this cause thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art, whether Gentile or Jew, that judgest and condemnest another of ungodliness. For wherein thou judgest another, whichever of the two thou art, Jew or Gentile, thou condemnest thyself on the same charge ; for thou that judgest doest the same things—thou committest the same crimes as thou condemnest in another. There is none but is a sinner. The host of sins before mentioned by St. Paul, had taken possession of everything.

Rom. ii. 1 ;
i. 25.

But we are sure that the judgment of God, whose attribute it is to judge, and who sees the very secrets of all things, is according to truth against them.—Men commonly judge wrongly.—God is true : every man a liar.

ver. 2.

Rom. iii. 4.

And thinkest thou this, O man, whoever thou art, that judgest and accusest them which do such things, as I have but now spoken of, and doest the same—committest the same crimes—that thou shalt escape the judgment of God? As much as to say, Thou shalt not escape, but receive the greater condemnation for thy proud condemning of others. (Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness, who is ever pouring forth His goodness liberally, yet ever full to overflowing, and forbearance, shown largely and long, and long-suffering?—Long-suffering is an unbroken, unwearied waiting.—Despisest thou it, I say, by abusing in thy folly this great and liberal forbearance, extended to thee by so rich and bounteous a God?

ver. 3.

ver. 4.

¹ Colet appears to have read *qui natus est* for *quod natum est*, unless there has been a slip of memory between this and the next verse but one : *sic est omnis, qui natus est ex spiritu.*

The figure of speech is one derived from the analogy of rich and wealthy men, whose resources are so great that they cannot be all spent. And the goodness of God is in like manner boundless, and such as no lavishness exhausts.

Knowest thou not that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? See to what an end the great forbearance of our good God is directed! He hides his face from our sins; He delays to take vengeance, longing and waiting for us to repent; and in the meanwhile He gently chastises in this life those whom He loves, in order that they may amend. Let every one feel that this is done in God's loving-kindness, that He may bring us to repentance.

But thou, wretched man, whoever thou art, that goest on and continuest in thy sins, *after thy hardness and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds.* Thou art but heaping up for thyself the wrath and vengeance of God, in the day of wrath, the day of judgment.

Whilst we live in this world, it is our *day of mercy*: after this life it will be a day of judgment, and *revelation of righteous judgment*; namely, when the righteous judgment of God shall be revealed, which as yet is not manifest. It is shut up as yet in God's forbearance; but after this life it will come forth, the more terrible for thee, the more thou hast abused His forbearance, after thy hard, unsubdued, unmanageable, and impenitent heart—that is, *mind*; which in the midst of such gentleness of God neither softens nor melts. Although *he causeth his wind to blow*, yet the spiritual waters flow not.¹ So frozen up are men's minds in the cold of wickedness.

Ps. cxlvii.
18.

ver. 6.

Who will hereafter render to every man according to his

¹ The beauty of this application to the cold ice-bound torpor of spiritual deadness, will be more felt by noticing the preceding words in the Vulgate: *Mittit crystallum suum sicut buccellas: ante faciem frigoris ejus quis sustinebit? Emitteret verbum suum et liquefaciet ea*, etc. —The latter clause was thus made an answer to the first, as Rom. vii. 25 to ver. 24.—See the parallel drawn out between the two passages in the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

deeds.—To show in what manner, the Apostle adds: *To* ver. 7.
them who by patient continuance in well doing (that is, who
do well while enduring ill: for it is the Christian's part to
suffer ill, and do good; that in a state of harmless righteous-
ness, though dying, he may live)—*glory* (supply, *will be*
rendered by Him), *and honour, and immortality.* He will
render eternal glory for temporal shame, to those who seek
everlasting life by enduring ill and doing good. *But unto* ver. 8.
them that are contentious :—on the other hand, to those who
contend and oppose themselves too proudly, *and do not*
obey the truth, resisting and scornfully rejecting it when
preached, *but obey unrighteousness* instead,—*unto them*
(supply, *there shall be, or there shall be rendered*) *wrath,* ver. 9.
indignation, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man
that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile: they
who were first in grace being, by a just dispensation, first
also in punishment: *but glory, honour, and peace to every* ver. 10.
man that worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the
Gentile.

St. Paul's wish is here father to his thought.

For there is no respect of persons with God. Order there ver. 11.
is in the Church, but not respect of persons. For this
takes place when one person is admitted, another rejected.
But God rejects no one. Whencesoever and from what-
soever race a man may be sprung, if only he has come to
God by Christ, he is admitted into the Church. But the
Jew first; then the Greek, that is, the Gentile.

For as many as have sinned without law shall also perish ver. 12.
without law.—God regards not men's persons, but their lives;
and as each one has acted in life, so will his lot be. If he has
been a sinner, he will perish, whether he have been Jew or
Gentile: if righteous, he will be saved, whether Jew or Gentile.
For God does not distinguish men according to their *persons*,
and the quality of their conditions; but weighs every one
according to the standard of his own life. *For as many as*
have sinned without the Law of the Jews, *shall also perish*
without the Law; being condemned by the law and up-
right decision of their own conscience: since every one
has a certain light, and inborn rule of living; for de-

viating from which he will be condemned by his own conscience. *And as many as have sinned under the Law—that is, the Jews, who were under the Law—shall be judged by the Law; inasmuch as law is a written conscience, conscience an inborn law. Law is nothing else than a clear principle, discriminating the just from the unjust; approving the one, and condemning the other. All alike have the inborn law of conscience; while the Jews had besides their written Law, as an admonisher of conscience.*

ver. 13. *For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers:—nor indeed by doers are meant those who are such in the flesh, in mere bodily worship and outward observance, in which the Jews exercised themselves; but those alone who carry out the mind and spirit of the law, and who live according to its spiritual meaning. For, as St. Paul afterwards declares, the law is spiritual. It is those who perform what the spirit of the law would have done, that will be justified. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.*

Rom. vii.
14.

Joh. vi. 63.

Rom. ii. 14.

ver. 15.

For when the Gentiles which have not the law—the Law of the Jews, delivered by Moses—do by nature the things contained in the law—that is, by an inborn rule of living, and light of nature, more ancient than any written law—these, having not such a law—namely, that of the Jews—to prick on their conscience, are a law unto themselves, through the inward dictates of reason: which shews the work of the law written in their hearts.—From this we may perceive that the work of the law is a mental and spiritual thing, since it is in the heart and mind. And it is the doer of this that will be justified; not the one who shows the work of the law in his body only.—Their conscience also bearing witness.—It is an old proverb: “Conscience is a host of witnesses in itself.”¹ If a man is not condemned by his own conscience, he is a righteous man:—by that conscience, I mean, which is sincere and true; such as we

¹ “Conscientia mille testes.”—The proverb is quoted by Quintilian, as an every-day one of uncertain authorship, *Instit. Orat.* V. xi. 41; and after him by Erasmus in his *Adagia*.

seldom find in men. And therefore, while this present life endures, fear not overmuch the judgment of thine own conscience, but fear the judgment of God, who sees more deeply and with more searching gaze than thou dost thyself. It was thus St. Paul wrote about himself to the Corinthians: *I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord. Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every man have praise of God.* Whence the Apostle here adds: *and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another, in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men.*¹ 1 Cor. iv. 4, 5.

In the court of thine own mind is thy cause pleaded, O man; in that clear day of Christ, wherein all things shall be open. And if thou be self-condemned, much more wilt thou then be condemned of the Lord, who *shall judge the secrets of men.* Rom. ii. 15, 16.

In what St. Paul says about the Gentiles, he does not mean that they had really done *by nature* the things of the law; since without grace this was impossible. Nor was there any Gentile, how great soever his religious endowments, who succeeded in fulfilling in his own person the requirements of the Mosaic law. All sinned and stood in need of grace. Though they knew God, *they glorified him not as God.* But his object in using these words is to check the pride and boastfulness of the Jews; who vaunted themselves so greatly on their Law, though they carried out its precepts ver. 14. Rom. i. 21.

¹ It will be seen from the Latin here, that Colet adds a gloss on these words, which could not, without awkwardness, be inserted in the text. In the Vulgate, as it then stood, the Greek genitive absolute had been reproduced by a genitive in the Latin, in the latter part of ver. 15: *cogitationum accusantium aut etiam defendentium*. Some explained it, as Colet here does, by supplying *conscientia*, &c.; others, as Dionysius Carthusianus, by reference to the Greek idiom:—"More Græcorum ponit genitivum pro ablativo." Faber Stapulensis (1512), and Erasmus, in his *Annotationes*, call it a mistake of the translator; and the latter severely adds: "Qui nolunt interpretem usquam errasse, et eum Spiritu Sancto suggerente vertisse, vel unum hunc locum, si possint, expedian."

in the body only, and not in spirit. Hence he testifies that, if at any time Gentiles lived according to the law,—not that they did really live agreeably to the law; but let us put the case that it was so with some Gentile or other, that we may see the law's power, and speak as if the fact had really been so.—We may say then, that, if at any time Gentiles lived by the rule of the law, they then *had* the law, in their life; since the law only exists for the purpose of man's life. And in like manner the Jews, if they did not live according to the law, are to be reckoned as without the law.—We must judge of all things, in every case, by the standard of spirit and life.

The additional words *according to my gospel by Jesus Christ*,¹ are equivalent to *as I preach, taught by Jesus Christ*. For it is the gospel message, that a man's praise with God, through Jesus Christ, depends only on his spirit, and life, and righteous dealing.

vv. 17, sqq.

But if thou art called a Jew, and retest upon the law.—In this passage we are taught that, although the Jews had the law given them, yet, if they observed it not, they were all as Gentiles, and their law profited them nothing. *If thou, over-proud Jew, he says, art called a Jew*—hast the name and not the reality—and *retest upon the law*, as though in safety through having it, and *makest thy boast in God* on account of the law given by Him, and *knowest his will*, as thou thyself sayest, being taught by the law, and *approvest the things that are more excellent*—commendest what is good: *being instructed out of the law*; and *art confident*—assertest this as thy prerogative—that *thou thyself art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes* (such were their names for the Gentiles:—*blind, foolish, babes, and in darkness*), *which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth*

¹ It will be noticed that the words *according to my gospel* are thus connected with *by Jesus Christ*. The order of words in the Latin text, as in the Greek, is *quum judicabit Deus occulta hominum secundum evangelium meum per Jesum Christum*. But the Rhemish version agrees with the English in the construction followed.

in the law.—This was what the Jews proudly claimed for themselves, namely, great wisdom in the matters of religion and righteousness. Wherefore St. Paul thus boldly questions them :—*Thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?* as though he would say : thou oughtest to be ashamed, O Jew, to take thus much upon thee ; to teach others, when most needing to be taught thyself ; thou who doest not thyself what thou teachest others, but committest the very things thou dost forbid. *Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal*—annulling by thy deeds what thou proclaimest in words ? *Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery in thy wantonness ? Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege, an idolater thyself ? Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God,*—to say nothing of *thyself ? For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you Jews ;* seeing that, when ye profess yourselves the servants of God, but are really in the service of sin and wickedness, your God may be thought by others to be a master of sin. For we tell a master by his servants ; and according as we notice servants and scholars to be, are we accustomed to form our judgment of the master. And thus, (St. Paul would say) by your shameful and dishonourable life ye blaspheme God, and give occasion of blaspheming to others.

Our Saviour often testified to the Jews that their lives in nowise corresponded to the rule of their law. *For they say, and do not.* Likewise in St. John's Gospel there are set down these words of Jesus to the Jews : *Did not Moses give you the law ? and yet none of you keepeth the law.* *Circumcision verily profiteth, if thou keep the law.*

Matt. xxiii.
3.

Joh. vii.
19.

Rom. ii. 25.

Circumcision, among the Jews, was a rite which had been delivered by God to Abraham ; a seal (as St. Paul elsewhere calls it) of faith. It was a symbol of that laying bare the soul, by stripping it of all vain and superfluous¹

Rom. iv.
11.

¹ It will be seen, by a comparison with the Latin, that I have slightly abridged or paraphrased this and one or two subsequent passages on

imagination, which will enable it to unite more fruitfully with God, its spouse. As, by the outward rite, the prolific power of the body was increased;¹ so, by that which it foreshadowed, does the soul bring forth more readily the fruits of righteousness. And in truth those bodily signs and sacraments are but the emptiest shadows, if the reality be not existing in the soul.

This circumcision *verily profiteth*, and is a useful sign to thee, Jew, *if thou keep the law*, by stripping away all superfluous and carnal thoughts from thy soul, and baring it to God. *But if thou be a breaker of the law*, thy soul being inclosed in coarse and carnal affections, then *thy circumcision is made uncircumcision*; and thou thyself, though circumcised in the body, art really uncircumcised in soul. *Therefore if the uncircumcision* (meaning the Gentiles, who were uncircumcised), *keep the righteousness of the law*:—he says not that they had kept it; but, supposing them to have done so, —*shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision?* As though he would say: he shall be reckoned as one circumcised, and a Jew. If he keep the ordinances of the spiritual law, and circumcise himself from the world and the flesh, from imagination² and reason, and appear in simple, bare faith before God, shall he then be a Jew in reality? And the answer clearly is, he shall be. And the *uncircumcision which is by nature*—that is, the Gentiles, outwardly uncircumcised: *if it fulfil*—that is, perform—*the law, shall judge and condemn thee*, O Jew, *who by the letter and circumcision*—by literal circumcision: the *letter* referring to the *body*—*art a transgressor of the law* in thy soul and spirit.

circumcision.—What Colet says here, as to the moral significance of the rite, will be illustrated by the language of Ambrose on Gen. xvii. 14 (in his treatise *De Abrahamo*, ii. § 84):—"omnis mens, quæ non fuerit circumcisa a *superfluis* corporalibus, etc. interibit."

¹ See Philo's short treatise *De Circumcisione* (*Op.* ed. 1613), p. 624. E.

² Lat. *phantasmate*: so again just afterwards, *ab omni crassa* (sic) *phantasmate*.—See the *Lectures on Romans*, pp. 69, 76; and also the *Ars Magna* of Raymondus Lullius (1517), fol. 83.

Although an interpreter of Scripture is not called upon to play the part of a Grammarian,¹ or examine words overminutely, yet, since my young friend Edmund,² for whom I am dictating this, is studying literature along with his theological reading, I am willing to be the Grammarian for him on this occasion, by explaining the meaning of the word *transgressor*, or *prevaricator*. And I shall do the same from time to time afterwards also, as a fitting opportunity may suggest.

Now *varicate*, or *prevaricate*, is a term derived from the large, swollen, distorted *varicose* veins, that some people have upon their legs. Since the cure of these is hazardous, physicians are wont to *trans-gress* them, that is, pass them by.³ And hence it comes that to *prevaricate* means to *trans-gress*. Jurists use the word in another sense; applying the name *prevaricator* to one who is first on one side, then on the other, and who "aids an opponent's case by betraying his own;" one who "is in collusion with the accused, and discharges the office of accuser negligently; concealing proofs applicable to the case, and admitting false excuses."⁴

¹ Erasmus speaks less apologetically on this subject.—See his letter, to Fisher, in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 178.

² See note before, p. 67.

³ This amusing derivation is taken, to all appearance, from the *Cornucopiæ* of Nicolaus Perottus (ed. 1496, f. 236):—"Varicari transgredi est, quasi varices transcendere, et curando preterire; quoniam hujusmodi curatio periculosa est. Tractum a medicis, qui cum varices curare non audent, eas transgrediuntur atque pretereunt."—He had just before given the same definition of varicose veins as Colet:—"Varices venæ in cruribus et fere grandiores dicuntur, quæ frequenter tumidæ sunt atque obtortæ."—The derivation sounds the more oddly, from the fact that (if we may judge from Celsus *De Medicina*, vii. 31) the cure of ordinary varicose veins was not in ancient times thought to be difficult.

⁴ The quotations are made, with one or two verbal alterations, from the *Digest*, iii. 2, § 4, and xlviii. 16, § 1.—"Prævaricator autem est quasi varicator, qui diversam partem adjuvat prodita causa sua." "Prævaricatorem eum esse ostendimus, qui colludit cum reo, et translatione munere accusandi defungitur: eo quod proprias quidem probationes dissimularet, falsas vero rei excusationes admitteret."—But it is very likely that Colet took them, in the first instance, from the *Cor-*

But in the present passage, by *transgressor* (*prevaricator*), is meant any one who "deviates and wanders away from the prescribed limits of his duty, whether that be done in treachery and evil intent, or in ignorance and carelessness;"¹ and *prevarication* is neither more nor less than *transgression of duty*. The Jews had had prescribed to them by their law what they were to do: but they transgressed those boundaries, and prevaricated with their law. Though circumcised in body, they were lax and unrestrained in mind.

But let us return to our text.

ver. 28.

FOR he is not a Jew, so far as the Law is concerned, *which is one outwardly*—exhibiting the signs thereof in his body to the evidence of sense; *neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh*—that is, in the outward flesh and body. It is as though he would say: True Judaism, and true circumcision, are reckoned not by the body but by the spirit. Therefore he adds: *But he is a Jew*, in respect of the Law, *which is one inwardly*:—he is a Jew, that is, who keeps the Law in the inner depths of his mind. The true circumcision is that which preceded the Law; which is *of the heart, in the spirit*; when there is pruned away from the mind all carnal affection, all gross imagination, all loose and unbridled reason, and the mind is thoroughly laid bare to God: *not in the letter*, which concerns the flesh, but according to that *spirit* of the letter which regards the spirit. *Whose praise*—the praise of the *spiritual Jew*—*is not of men*, who cannot look below the surface—but of God, who is a searcher of hearts and ponderer of minds.

It is the Apostle's aim in this, to convince his readers,

nucopiæ of Perottus mentioned above, where they are found on fol. 236 vers.

¹ This definition also is found in the *Cornucopiæ*, ut sup.—"*Prævaricator*, quicumque ab officii sui præscripto deflectit atque oberrat, sive perfidia atque malitia, sive imprudentia ac negligentia id faciat."—The substance of it appears in Laurentius Valla's article on the word *prævaricator* (*De Ling. Lat. Elegant.* vi. 50); but the form of expression shows Perottus to have been the one to whom Colet was indebted.

that it is not the body which is to be regarded, but the mind ; not the corporeal sign, but the mental reality.

In the book of Genesis it is related, that Abram, the chosen of God, after being brought out of his own land, the land of the Chaldeans, was brought into another land, pointed out to him by God. We read that, when there, he went up into a mountain, and builded an altar upon it, and over the altar called upon the name of the Lord. That he then went steadfastly onwards towards the south. That he repaired to the same mountain again, on his return from Egypt, whither he had been constrained to go down by stress of famine ; and there again, after his accustomed manner, he called upon the name of the Lord. We read further, that, when Abram prayed for children, making earnest supplication with sighing and tears, God promised him an abundant offspring, even to the number of the stars. Gen. xii.

In the above passage, the matter for commendation is the exemplary *faith* of Abraham ; a faith borne witness to by Scripture, where it is said : *Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.* And thus, when ninety years old and nine, he heard the Lord say unto him : *I am the Almighty God ; walk before me, and be thou perfect. And I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly.* James ii.
23.

In this way did the most high God make a covenant with lowly Abraham ; promising him that he should be the father of many nations ; and that he would be his God ; and would give him a land as an everlasting possession for him and his descendants, on condition that they would keep His covenant. Now the covenant and agreement between God and Abraham and Abraham's seed, was, that every male should be circumcised, *in token of the covenant.* The uncircumcised should be cut off. Isaac was chosen by God, as the one with whom He would enter into covenant, and for whom He would perform the promises ; so long as he and his kept the compact, by circumcising themselves to God. Gen. xvii.
11.

Accordingly, Abraham at once circumcised both himself

and his whole household, being then ninety-nine years of age. When he was a hundred years old, Isaac was born, and was circumcised by him on the eighth day. And afterwards, when at God's command he was willing to sacrifice his son, he received a confirmation of the promises by oath. This rite of circumcision was derived from Abraham in the first instance, through Isaac, to the Jews; and was a sign of a perfect walk before God in faith, and of a perfect life in Christ.

If we transfer what is corporeal to the spirit, the inner meaning of the mystery is this.—It may signify the separation of the Jews from every other nation; as a people whose life was sharply defined, purified, and cleansed; while among the Gentiles there was much lax superfluity.

It may signify also every kind of separation from the flesh, to the end that the truly circumcised may have no dealings therewith.

But, in my opinion, what is really typified is the circumcision of the mind¹ and spirit of man itself; for this too is clogged as with a covering of a foreskin. By this I mean carnal affection, gross imagination,² and loose and unbridled reason.

While covered and enfolded by these, the mind can have no union with God. And therefore it must have these wrappings removed, and be wholly bared, and stand forth in singleness, even as God is single. There must be cut off from it, and cast away, all fleshly-mindedness, all unchastened imagination, in a word, all lax and unrestrained reasoning; that so the mind may be inwardly free and unencumbered, and may unite full readily with God; and, conceiving seed by Him, may bring forth the plentiful fruit of righteousness.

This excision of fleshly incumbrances among the Jews, and the greater prolific power which in consequence dis-

¹ To understand the prominence given to *mind*, here and in previous passages, it will be necessary to turn to the Latin text, and observe in what etymological connection Colet places *mens*.

² Lat. *crassa imaginatio*. This fixes the sense of *phantasma*, used in the same connection above, p. 80.

tinguished them above all other nations, can have no other spiritual meaning than the above: namely, the purity and simplicity which the mind of man ought to have before God; and the greater fecundity of which it would thus in like manner be capable. For, as the man is male in relation to the woman, so is he female in relation to God.¹

Wherefore, if this be the inner meaning of circumcision, and its intention be that man should unite with God readily, thoroughly, and intimately, by singleness of faith; then let us Christians circumcise ourselves after this real and true manner. For we are chosen and set apart for this very purpose, that we should be the subjects and servants of God, in openness, nakedness, and simplicity; with no impediment either of passion or reason interposing between us. It is ours, with single-minded Abraham, to be led out from our country and kindred, and to hasten towards the land pointed out to us by God, a spiritual land, a land of the living. Each one of us is bound to withdraw into the stronghold of his own mind;² to ascend the mount of holiness; to build an altar there, and there call upon God; to go on as far as he can towards the south, following the pathway of the sun; that so in Christ he may be more and more inflamed with love.³ If indeed he be an hungered, let him go down into Egypt, and refresh his body: but let him come back again to the mountain; let him return to contemplation; let him pray and hope for the offspring of righteousness. And when this fruit of a righteous mind has been gained by him, let him be prepared, if God so

¹ So in the *Lectures on I. Cor.*, p. 113: "All in the Church are female, so to speak, and in the relation of a body, towards Christ, our Divine Head." See also p. 131 of the same *Lectures*, n. 3.

² Colet may have thought there was some etymological connection between *mens* and *mons*. But, in any case, the same allegorical interpretation is found elsewhere. See the *Sylva Allegoriarum* (1570), p. 446, where the *montes exultantes ut arietes* of Ps. cxiv. 4, are made an emblem of the "contemplativi, qui in jucunditatis suæ excessibus puram et simplicem veritatem contemplantur."

³ This allegorical interpretation is hinted at by De Lyra:—"Progre-
grediens ad meridiem; id est, in fervore charitatis proficiendo."—Compare also the passage quoted from Lactantius, *ante*, p. 31.

- ordain, to sacrifice even it by his own act to God; saying
- Rom. ix. 3. with St. Paul, as he lays it on the funeral pile of love: *I could wish that myself were accursed for my brethren; that he may then, for such exceeding love and goodwill, hear the promise of the eternal inheritance confirmed to him by*
- Gen. xxii. 13. *an oath; and may at last receive that ram caught in a thicket by his horns, even his body,¹ the old man, held fast by the thorny cares of this world; to slay and offer it up as*
- Rom. xii. 1. *a living sacrifice, acceptable unto God, a reasonable service.*

Thus let every Christian, every son of Abraham in spirit, follow the example of Abraham; that he may at last rest happily in Abraham's bosom.

THE word *pagans* at first meant only country people. It has come to be applied to all who are outside the more civilized City of God, that is, the Church of Christ; because they are not of such a gentle spirit, nor of such a mild and tractable disposition, nor of so refined and polished a life, as true members of the Church are. For the Spirit of Christ softens and tranquillizes men's minds, and makes them docile.

Now what St. Paul has written in this Second Chapter concerning Jew and Gentile, may in like manner be adapted to Christian and pagan. Let us shift the names only, and it may even be repeated of them word for word. For Christians condemn pagans on the score of unbelief, while in truth far worse unbelievers themselves. On which account they will not escape the just judgment of God, in thus abusing His longsuffering and goodness. Such false Christians *treasure up unto themselves the wrath of God in the day of wrath.* God will render to every man according to his

Rom. ii. vv. 2, *sqq.*

¹ The spirit of this interpretation is Origen's, though in his exposition of Gen. xxii. 13, Origen makes the ram a symbol of Christ. Compare such expressions as the following: "Vitus est, et quidem valde superbus, caro tua" (*Hom. I. in Levit.*);—"Hic vero munus offert Deo vitulum, cum carnis superbiam vicerit, etc." (*Hom. II.*);—and the beginning of Lib. ix. of his Commentary on *Romans*.

deeds, not according to his name. For there is no respect of persons with God. As many as have sinned without gospel shall also perish without gospel; and as many as have sinned in the gospel shall be judged by the gospel. For not the hearers of the gospel shall be justified before God, but the doers. When the heathen, which have not the gospel, do by grace the things contained in the gospel, these, having not the gospel, nor bearing impressed upon them the seal of baptism, and the like, are unto themselves both baptism and gospel: which shew the work of baptism and grace written in their hearts; their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another, in that day when God shall judge the secrets of men.

But if thou art called a Christian, and retest upon the gospel, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will through Christ, and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed by the gospel; and art confident that thou thyself art a guide of the blind heathens, a light of them which are in darkness, an instructor of the foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge and of the truth in the gospel:—thou therefore which teachest another, teachest thou not thyself? thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that sayest a man should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege? Thou that makest thy boast of the gospel, through breaking the gospel dishonourest thou God in Christ? For the name of God and of Christ is blasphemed among the heathen through you Christians.

Baptism, and the other sacraments, verily profit, if thou keep the gospel: but if thou be a breaker of the gospel, thy baptism is heathenism. Therefore if the heathen keep the righteousness of the gospel, shall not his heathenism be counted for baptism? And shall not he who is a heathen by nature, if he fulfil the gospel, judge thee, a Christian, who by the flesh and by baptism dost transgress the gospel? For he is not a Christian, which is one outwardly; neither is that baptism, which is outward in the flesh: but

he is a Christian, which is one inwardly; who is baptized in the heart and in the spirit, not in the flesh; whose praise is not of men, but of God.

LET Christians therefore cease to taunt heathens with unbelief: those above all, whose unlikeness in life to Christ is a witness that their own faith is but scanty. Let them rather condemn themselves for their own unbelief. Let each one look to Christ, as the noblest example of living; reforming himself by His pattern, and, in a word, setting Him forth throughout all his life. Let him remember what Christ Himself said: *Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven.*

Matt. vii.
21.

Let him keep before his eyes also what the beloved disciple, St. John, has left recorded in his First Epistle: *He that saith he abideth in him ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked.* In these days (to our sorrow be it spoken!), there are men bearing the Christian name, more depraved in life than any heathen.¹

1 John ii.
6.

And while we make our boast in Christ, and hope to be saved through Him, let us all learn in this place from St. Paul, that nothing avails with God but spiritual reality, of which an example was shewn us by Jesus; and that, if we copy not this example in spirit and in life, we shall be the very persons to whom the just Judge will say: *Depart from me, all ye workers of iniquity.*

SUCH a dissension as formerly prevailed between the Jews and Gentiles, now prevails almost everywhere in the Christian Church itself, between the clergy and the laity; between what are commonly called the spiritual and temporal parties in the Church. Each accuses the other, and most

¹ Erasmus often speaks in a similar tone,—ending his *Annotations* on this present chapter with a like reflection:—"Jam vero quod Paulus admonuit Judæos, id multo magis cavendum est nobis Christianis; quorum vita si nihil differat ab Ethnicorum vita, nisi titulo Christiani nominis, ac ceremoniis, cæteris in rebus par, aut etiam contaminatio, periculum est ne, etc."

deplorable is the strife. Pride, boastfulness, and vanity, are common to them both. On the one hand, the clergy look down upon the laity, and proclaim that it is their duty to be subject to them. On the other, the laity insolently extol themselves, and look down upon the clergy; saying that without them the clergy could not live.¹

In such a quarrel St. Paul, or any one else using his words, might interpose, and might well condemn both parties, and pronounce them both *inexcusable*. He might show them that each of the two, while accusing the other, was doing the very same, and was self-condemned; that each was abusing the longsuffering of God, and *treasuring up for himself God's wrath, in the day of wrath*. He might show them, that a layman, if he has done the work of a priest, is accounted a priest; and that a priest, if he follow in a layman's footsteps, is no more than a layman. *Thou that makest thy boast in the priesthood, through breaking the priesthood dishonourest thou God? The name of God is blasphemed among the laity through you priests. He is not a priest, which is one outwardly, with the tonsure in the flesh; but he which is one inwardly, in the spirit; whose praise is of God.*

If you be a spiritual-minded priest, you will bear with the layman; you will bless him; you will study how to benefit him spiritually by speech, by counsel, by example. When he is malicious, you will be kindly; when he curses, you will be full of blessing: in his niggardliness you will be bountiful; and merciful, while he is severe.

O priests of Jesus Christ, follow the counsel of the Apostle Peter: *Have a good conscience; that, whereas they speak evil of you, as of evildoers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse your good conversation in Christ. It is better that ye suffer for well doing, than for evil doing. And so, a little earlier in the same Epistle: Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren; be*

1 Pet. iii.
16, 17.

Ib. vcr. 8.

¹ There is much in the same strain in the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, p. 39, sqq.—The state of things which called for such a rebuke has been spoken of in the Introduction.

pitiful, be courteous; not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing. And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?—If St. Peter wrote thus to all Christians, how much more to the clergy! By returning to primitive goodness, we shall recall the laity to primitive obedience. But if we turn round upon them, to requite evil for evil, we shall but increase their wickedness, being ourselves more inclined to evil than to good.¹

If, on the other hand, you be a good layman, you will have pity on a lost and abandoned priest. You will grieve that the light you were to see by is extinguished; that the example you were to follow is taken away; that the salt has lost its savour. You will weep to see the leaders in the war slain, and Christians thereby yielding to the devil, and being brought again into captivity: to see the steersmen lost; and the bark of the Church in peril of foundering amid the billows of the world.

CHAPTER III.

ST. PAUL now shews that, though the Jews had had delivered to them a law, and *oracles of God*, which the Gentiles never had; yet they believed them not, and were thus on a level with the Gentiles in unbelief. But for all that, though in former days they believed not the *oracles*, it was now in their power to believe the Son's word. For although they *made of none effect* the *first* grace—that of the Law; they did not so frustrate the *second* grace, even the grace of Faith. For, on account of their great and sinful unbelief, this came in fuller measure, so that they might believe, if only they had the will.

Not indeed that we are to sin, that grace may abound; on the ground that it is not by righteousness that sinners

¹ With this should be compared what Colet has written in his *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, pp. 40, 41.

are saved, but by grace:—as indeed, on the score of righteousness, they are condemned. St. Paul hints that when grace is the greatest, our sins ought to be the least: so that he who sins most in grace, is most condemned.

He shews that all had sinned, and the Jews most of all; since their law had taught them the magnitude of their sin. Yet still both they and all men might be saved, if they would only believe in Jesus their Redeemer; by whose blood past sins are blotted out, that henceforth they may live righteously. In Him all alike, whether Jews or Gentiles, are justified by the righteousness of faith alone, through Jesus Christ: which is the realization of the Law, and very¹ . . .

God alone is true, and righteous beyond all others. He justifies all, without distinction, by grace freely given through faith in His Son Jesus. He is true and veracious and faithful in His words, *that he may be justified when he speaketh, and clear when he is judged.* He is good and righteous, and by that justifying righteousness, which is His grace, He justifies the one who is of the faith of Jesus Christ; both making him gracious by grace, and justifying him gratuitously. It is He that maketh men righteous of His own free will, and maketh good whomsoever He pleaseth. Ps. li. 5.

Jesus is our Redeemer by His own blood, and a Propitiator. Through Him there is justification as a free gift to those who believe. He is a mediator between God and man. He reconciled men to God, and propitiated afresh God to men. In Him is a union of both natures; and through Him, as a fitting mean, God the Father justifies men, and men are justified by God. The mean by which we are justified, is the justice and goodness of God; which we may call both faith and grace.

In reading St. Paul, we find the expressions, *faith of Jesus; righteousness of faith; righteousness from faith*:—

¹ Lat. *quæ veritas est legis et ipsa*. In the MS. this stands as the end of a paragraph, without any token of omission: but something seems wanting to complete the sense.

being that to which the Law and the prophets bore witness. This is the true and perfect Law. The truly righteous man is he who believes in Jesus Christ. To apply the carnal law to spiritual faith in Jesus, is to establish the law and fulfil it.

Matt. v. 17. Jesus said, *I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil.* This is the more abundant righteousness, of which Christ spake, saying: *Except your righteousness—that of the Christian—shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees.* For in truth it is by this faith of Christ alone that there is an entrance into the kingdom of heaven. It is the faithful who are righteous. The faith of Christ is righteousness. And hence Christians are called a *church of the faithful*:—of those, namely, who are justified through the faith of Jesus, their past sins being freely blotted out by grace; who thenceforth are righteous in grace, not sinners again, but going on in grace unto eternal life.

IN Latin writers the word *faith* (*fides*) properly means “an abiding by, and true fulfilment of, our promises and agreements;” so called because what is said is *done* (*fiat*).¹ To *give faith* (*dare fidem*) means to give a solemn promise. The word is also used at times in those writers for a *belief* in that which is not seen. And in this sense it is adopted by our divines. One who shews good trust, is called a *man of good faith*, or as we should term him, faithful. So also one to whom property is safely entrusted, or who faithfully takes charge of property entrusted to him, is called a *man of good faith*. Thus St. Paul wrote to

¹ Cicero gives this derivation, without pledging himself to its accuracy, in the *De Officiis*, i. 7:—“Fundamentum est autem justitiæ *fides*, id est, *dictorum conventorumque constantia et veritas*. Ex quo, quantum hoc videbitur fortasse cuipiam durius, tamen audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt, unde verba sint ducta; credamusque, *quia fit, quod dictum est, appellatum fidem*.”

The same “forced etymology,” as L’Estrange calls it, is adopted, apparently without hesitation, by Augustine:—“*Fides* appellata est ab eo quia *fit* quod *dicitur*. Duæ syllabæ sonant, cum dicitur *fides*: prima syllaba est a *facto*, secunda a *dicto*.”—*Sermo* xlix. (*Op.* ed. Caillau, vol. xviii. p. 84).

Timothy, a man of good faith, *keep that which is committed to thy trust*. Elsewhere he writes: *I have kept the faith*. To have faith is to believe. To receive faith is to be believed. It is written: *my word hath no place in you*; that is, does not receive faith; is not believed. *I trust (fido)* means *I have faith*, I place my hopes, I believe; while *I distrust (diffido)* means *I abandon my belief*, I despair. *Confidence (fidentia)* and *assurance (fiducia)* is a boldness arising from faith, such as was seen to a wonderful degree in the martyrs, who met their death with confidence. To *confide (confidere)* is to *trust*. A *perfidious* person (*perfidus*) is one who breaks faith.—Among Christians at the present season there is great *perfidy*.

1 Tim. vi.
20.
2 Tim. iv.
7.
Joh. viii.
37.

St. Augustine wrote, that *faith* was the virtue whereby we believe the things that are not seen.¹ Such are the gospel tidings concerning Christ. Of this Christian faith twelve articles are customarily recited in the Church; being those included in the Apostles' Creed, to which each apostle is believed to have contributed his own particular article.²

But I shall discourse more fully about *faith*, on coming at some future time to the definition of it given by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Hebrews.³

EVERY man was a liar before Christ; both Jew, and Greek—that is, Gentile. All have been arraigned as under sin, and stand in need of grace, the Jews more than all. Rom. iii. 4.

¹ As in his *Tractat. xl. in Joannis Evangelium*: "Quid est enim fides, nisi credere quod non vides?" and again in *Tractat. lxxix.*: "Hæc est enim laus fidei, si quod creditur non videtur."—*Op. ed. Caillau, xv. 443; xvi. 191.*

² Colet does not actually commit himself to the then popularly received derivation of *Symbolum*:—"Symbolum dicitur a *syn*, quod est simul, et *bolus*, morsus; quod singuli apostolorum attulerint morsellum suum:" but his language seems to imply as much.

Erasmus, in the note on Heb. xi. 1, in his *Annotationes*, attacks this derivation with unusual acrimony; as also the long-winded scholastic definitions of *fides*,—some specimens of which may be seen in Tribbechovius, *De Doctorib. Scholast.* (1719), p. 142.

³ If such an exposition was delivered, it is not now to be met with. In the abstract of the *Hebrews* preserved in the Gale MS. "O. 4. 44," there is a noticeable omission of the subject.

The Gentile was wicked in uncircumcision, but far more wicked was the Jew in his circumcision, who believed not the words spoken, and the reality of faith. The Jews kept not their precepts of living; no, not even in an elementary and imperfect manner. Their religion was wholly carnal and corporeal: they practised a righteousness of the body, a law of deeds done in the body, the works of a carnal law: of the spiritual worship of God they were utterly ignorant. One and all, they were sinners, far from the grace of God, in the bondage of subjection to sin, under the power of the Devil: the Jew within the pale of his Law, as much as the Gentile without it. *They were all gone out of the way*; there was no hope of salvation for men, save only from the grace of God through Jesus Christ.

ver. 12.

All must believe in Him; that, by believing in Him, they may be freely justified, through Him, and in Him; without their being any other, through whom past sins may be redeemed, slaves set free, and the enemies of God reconciled.

In God's truth we believe; by His goodness and grace we are justified; and all this of His free gift; that we may acknowledge the wonderful mercy of God, and love Him for His goodness, and serve Him with all affection, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

St. Paul has his own peculiar way of speaking, and employs words in such senses, that one has need to be most practised in reading him, to understand his meaning clearly. Thus in the present chapter, the *unbelief*, *lie*, and *sin*, of which he accuses the Jews, are all one and the same. So also are the *faith*, *truth*, and *righteousness of God*, which the Jews made of none effect.

God was good, but they were bad. He would have made them good by giving them a law: they would not be righteous in the law thus given. Yet they did not make void, but commended, the goodness of God. For it depended not on them, whether God should be more or less good, but on God Himself; who is good, in what way, and to what degree, He will.

WHAT advantage, then, hath the Jew more than the Gentile? Rom. iii. 1. some Jew might chance to ask, if nothing is acceptable to God but spirit and spiritual righteousness: since this is open to the Gentile as much as to the Jew. What then is the value of the law delivered to us by Moses, and prized by us so many years; in respect of which the Jews are considered far superior to the Gentiles? Or again, *what profit is there of the ancient rite of circumcision*, which Abraham received from God and bequeathed to his posterity?

After making all depend on the unseen spirit, there at once occurs to St. Paul the objection which some froward Jew might bring, touching the law of Moses and the circumcision of Abraham. To such he replies on both points; first about the law, and next about circumcision. The present chapter contains only his reply about the Law of the Jews; a law which he does not venture to make of no account, lest he should offend the Jews devoted to it;¹ a Law which he even over-estimates, rather to satisfy the Jews, than as the result of his own opinion. For, as he taught Eph. i. 10. the Ephesians, all things are summed up in Christ alone.

Much advantage, he says, and *in every way*, has the Jew: Rom. iii. 2. *chiefly because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.* They were the first with whom God spake at sundry Heb. i. 1. times and in divers manners, and to whom also were entrusted and committed the oracles of God. And by this is meant (as Origen would have it), not only the literal law, but also the spiritual interpretations, derived from Moses through a succession of seventy wise men, known as the science of the Cabala, or *reception*.² They had the truth,

¹ Lat. *ut Judeos legi offendat*.—I have only attempted to give what the general sense of the passage seemed to require, not being able to translate these words as they stand. In the MS., *Judeos* is the last word on the page, followed by a short blank, which may denote some omission. Hence I have translated the clause as if it stood "*ne Judeos [deditos] legi offendat*."

² This comment of Origen's on Rom. iii. 2, is twice referred to elsewhere. Colet took it from Mirandola.—See the passage from Mirandola's *Apologia* cited in the *Hierarchies*, pp. 109-112; and also the *Lect. on Romans*, p. 5, n.

and faith, and righteousness of God in their words and oracles; but they were not sufficiently believing.

The circumcised Jews were in this respect superior to the Gentiles, namely, in their being chosen before the others as the depositaries, in God's great grace, of His oracles. But, on the other hand, they were inferior to them in this, that they believed not the oracles, but made light of this grace. Such was the objection brought by the Gentile against the Jew.

ver. 3. But St. Paul, by way of repressing the haughtiness of the Gentiles, says: *What if some of them did not believe the oracles of God, but made light of His truth and grace in this behalf? Are the Jews on that account to be altogether past remedy? Shall their unbelief make void the faithfulness of God*—cause God to seem unfaithful, who promised the inheritance to the seed of Abraham? *God forbid*: God will perform His promises. God is true and faithful, *and every man a liar*; but the falsehood of men will not make void the truth of God, and His faithfulness in what He has promised. What has been said, will be done, and the seed of Abraham will be the heir. But, as St. Paul wrote to Gal. iii. 7. the Galatians, not all Abraham's children are *children of Abraham*: it is not the *children of the flesh*, but of the *promise*. Rom. ix. 8. God's faithfulness and promise were spiritual, not carnal. It was to the spiritual that He promised spiritual things, even to those chosen for this grace, whether from among Jews or Gentiles: and these are the true *children of the promise*; for whom there is an unvarying truth in the things spoken by God.

And so the carnal Jew did not baffle by his unbelief the faithfulness and truth of God, nor hinder Him from appearing faithful. For the great promise of God was not for such an one, but for the spiritual Jew. And such the carnal Jew has it in his power to be, if he will, or rather, if grace have laid hold of him. What though they believed not the oracles of God? they may still believe in Christ Jesus. They who frustrated the first grace, may yet be partakers of the second. There is, as St. John writes, *grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses,* Joh. i. 16, 17.

but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. If they made void the image, they may yet be caught by the reality.

God is true, and knows to what end He has promised. What He has predicted, will come to pass. God's will depends not on men, but men depend on His will. Howsoever men may have been false and bad, He is always true, and His word and wisdom infallible; as it is written by the royal prophet David: *that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged* and condemned by the foolish; who understand not the meaning of Thy words:—a meaning heavenly and spiritual, not carnal. Those whom God alone has ordained to be made true, will be made true and righteous. No wickedness of men will interrupt the course and purpose of the will and grace of God. It is the will of His goodness to overcome all wickedness; and, in order that His words may have their true fulfilment, He will increase His boundless loving-kindness, and pour forth His grace the more abundantly, as men's wickedness has increased; that the unrighteousness of man may not hinder the goodness of God. Ps. li. 4.

As the disease increases, so must the medicine be increased with it: and beyond doubt, as sin has abounded, so has grace more abounded; that the loving care of God may attain its inevitable purpose in the elect. That which is to come to pass, as being in the fixed counsels of God, will unquestionably come to pass; and those who are to be saved, will be saved.

Hence, although the Jews sinned grievously, in not believing the oracles of God, yet still God will fulfil in them His promises; albeit with a larger measure of grace, and more glorious compassion, on account of the greatness of their sins; and those whom He has decreed to save along with the Gentiles, He will so save.

We must admit, therefore, that the unbelief of the Jews did not make void the faithfulness and promised justification of God; but rather brought it to pass *by consequence*, as the schoolmen say, that a greater justification and more abundant grace should be manifest in them. Their unrighteousness did in fact commend the justifying

righteousness of God, and show plainly its exceeding greatness.

ver. 5.

But at this point the Jews might say in their folly, on hearing that grace and justifying righteousness had outstripped even the growth of their sin,—*If our unrighteousness*, thus grown and augmented, *commend* and show more plainly the good and justifying *righteousness of God*; and if His grace triumph in our sin, to His greater glory and to our profit, then is there no cause for Him to be wroth with us sinners; seeing that in our evil He is but the better, and in our dulness He is the more glorious.—To this the answer is: Thou evil Jew, to the bad all things are bad. Now too art thou, to thine own damnation, putting a most wrongful construction on what is most good, and most rightly said. God is good, and more than good to the wicked (if I may speak in human fashion); but yet will He be strictly righteous, and punish most unsparingly those who abuse His goodness,—those who, in the midst of God's goodness and mercy, persist in evil. For them the justifying righteousness, which is grace, will be turned to judgment. The further they in their pride advance in wickedness, the more is God bending His bow against them, and the more heavily will He smite. O wicked Jew, *despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance and long-suffering; not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance? But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath.*

Rom. ii.
4, 5.

Rom. iii. 5.

Therefore let not any say, that *God is unrighteous, who taketh vengeance*. Far be it from the mouth of man to utter this! For such a saying does away with God's judgment, and the condemnation of the men of this world. But in truth this world will be condemned, and all the men of this world together.

By *the man of this world* I mean the one who is born into this world unto death, not born again by grace and baptism unto immortality in Christ Jesus. But the one who is born again to God, of water and the Holy Ghost, is a man of another world, even the heavenly and supernal. Those who are justly left behind, as being men of this

world, will perish; while those who are chosen by grace, in the free mercy of God, will be saved in Jesus their Saviour.

But though *our unrighteousness commend this justifying righteousness of God*, and make grace to abound; yet still God may *take vengeance*—to speak in human fashion. This is the meaning of St. Paul's expression, *I speak as a man*:— ver. 5.
in human fashion, that is to say; and in this way assigning human passions to God, who in truth is not revengeful. God, I repeat, may condemn and take vengeance on our sins, even though they be the causes of greater grace being manifested in those who are saved. How stands it with you who by greater and truer grace are saved? The more grievously you have sinned, the more extreme the torments, with which God might also have punished you, had it been His will. His mercy is not of constraint, but of free choice. Whomsoever He has saved, He might also with the greatest justice have condemned; and on the very persons in whom He has shown a greater grace, He might have executed a more signal judgment.

For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory, and if *God is true*, though *every man be a liar*:—if the divine truth has abounded in human falsehood, and man's deceitfulness only rendered God the truer, and more faithful in His promises: if, no matter how far we have sinned, He has still had compassion on us, and that too with a glory on His part the greater in proportion to our sins:—*why then am I*—I, poor man, that am so great a sinner—*yet judged*—that is, condemned—*as a sinner*, and not rather to be made much of, and held in honour; as being, in my sinfulness, the material wherein is manifested the glory of God? And why should we not *do evil, that good may come*, seeing that God appears more glorious in our evil-doings?—*as we be slanderously reported* by detractors, *and as some affirm that we say*. ver. 8.

Because St. Paul preached that, while the sin of mankind was the greater, there appeared the greater grace through Jesus Christ for their justification; certain wicked slanderers and unfair interpreters, making a handle, so to speak, of

this, spread malicious reports among the people, to the effect that Paul encouraged men to sin, by preaching that as our sins increased, so the grace and glory of God would be increased also; slanderers, *whose damnation is just*.

Of all who hear ill, none will meet with greater condemnation, than these ill hearers of the good truth of God. It was in this way that Jesus was often heard by the treacherous Jews; and in this way, as we may recognize by the present passage, that great preacher of the truth, St. Paul, was heard. These men were like foul vessels, that give an ill flavour to good liquor. *Whose damnation is just*; for they countenance evil, and take away all fear of the judgment of God, and are wicked slanderers, seeking a defence for their sin.

Thus has it been shown that the Jews have no advantage, nor excel the Gentiles in righteousness, but rather are inferior to them. They had received the oracles, it is true, but they had neglected them. Yet they had not made void the grace of God; but by greater grace might still be saved. Not that they ought to sin, in order to have greater grace; but they ought to acknowledge their sins, and fly to grace through faith, and in grace at length make an end of sinning. By greater riches of grace men are redeemed, to the end that, when they have once gone forth from the prison of unrighteousness, they should not be again imprisoned therein. Where God has been merciful, He might have been wroth; and where He has saved, He might have condemned. Though the Jews were most deserving of condemnation, yet by a far more abundant grace God would save the fore-ordained among them, that He might appear faithful to His promises.

We must here note, that God's righteousness is twofold: one, an avenging righteousness, which is His wrath; the other a justifying righteousness, which is His grace. It is of the latter that St. Paul here speaks:—great for sinners, greater for worse sinners, greatest of all for the worst; even for those who by grace are freely justified. But for others, God's righteousness is an avenging and penal one. Where God justifies by justifying righteousness, He has the

power to condemn by avenging righteousness. Some are *vessels of wrath*, others are *vessels of mercy*. There is a night and there is a day among men, as God has willed; and of His will there is no reason to be given; but His will is itself all reason. About it let none dispute; but let every one embrace it, and think of it with all love and reverence.¹

The Jews did indeed sin, by not believing the oracles of God that were entrusted and committed to them; and hence stood in need of that greater justifying righteousness, which is grace. By the increase of their sin they *commended* the grace and justifying righteousness of God; seeing that under the law they sinned yet more, and needed greater grace for salvation. But yet neither Jews nor any others ought to sin, in order that the grace and true justifying righteousness of God may abound. Inasmuch as greater sins need greater grace to heal them, so do they demand a greater punishment, in case they be condemned.

The Jews did not believe the oracles of God, and were therefore the more sinful, and the more to be condemned. For this very reason they needed greater grace; in this way *commending* God's justifying righteousness, if saved, seeing that He might have visited them with wrath and condemnation: a condemnation the greater, in proportion to the greatness of their falsehood and unbelief. But God would rather have mercy on them, and justify all that believe in Him through Jesus Christ: not that we may sin, in order that grace and justification may increase and abound; but that, being justified by grace, we may at length cease to sin. Our sin is not to be increased, that grace may abound; but God has increased His grace, that our sin may cease. Disorders must not be intensified, that the skill of the physician may appear greater; but in greater disorders the physician puts forth greater skill, that the disorder may be finally arrested, and health remain.

Owing to the greater grace which the Jews had, sin in them was greater and more grievous, and their unbelief

¹ Compare the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 41.

more serious than that of the Gentiles. Moreover, as the sin of the Jews abounded, by reason of grace being given and the oracles of God entrusted to that nation; so by reason of their sin did grace and righteousness abound, justifying those who are justified. And therefore they did not, by sinning, make void the grace and truth of God; nor hinder Him from faithfully performing His promises, and having mercy on the nation of the Jews—at least, on those whom He would have mercy upon; but rather commended His grace and true justifying righteousness, since for their salvation there was need of greater grace. In so far as the Jews were chosen to receive the oracles of God, they excelled the Gentiles. In so far as they made light of them, they were inferior to the Gentiles, and in a worse distemper of sin.

The promises of God were spiritual, to spiritual Jews; even to those who are such not openly, but in secret; *whose praise is of God*. These are the faithful ones, the circumcised in heart. And among them, by God's great grace, the Jews will have the means of being, even though they failed to believe the oracles of God, if only they shall have believed in Christ, who has been sent to supplement the law. God has given a faithful promise to those who believe. The Jews will one day believe. As St. Paul foretold, *a remnant of them shall be saved*. A good part of them also has in truth believed.

Rom. ix.
27.

Thus it has come to pass that, although some of the Jews did not believe, yet God is faithful and true in the things that He purposed, according to the purpose of His will, to the praise of His grace.

But we are straying too far away: let us return to the text.

Rom. iii.
9.

WHAT then? seeing that we Jews (for St. Paul himself was a Jew) did not believe the oracles of God, but grievously offended Him by abusing His grace, *are we better than* those Gentiles? As though he would say: by no means. Nay rather are we inferior to them, since, when a law of life had been given to us, we sinned all the

more. *In no wise do we excel them. For we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin. All alike have sinned; both Gentiles without law, and Jews under it. As it is written by the royal prophet David,* *ver. 10, sqq.* *There is none righteous in work, nor that understandeth in knowledge, nor that seeketh with a view to learn. They are all gone out of the way of rectitude, they are together become unprofitable, that is, unfruitful; for there is none that doeth good—produces good fruit, no, not one.—Some explain the last words with reference to the one Christ, who alone in the human race was good.¹—Their throat is an open sepulchre, noisome with the tainted breath of a corpse-like mind, ever plotting evil; with their tongues they have used deceit, by speaking deceitfully; the poison of asps is under their lips: they spit forth venomous words of cursing: whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness.—Cursing is a bitter thing; as blessing, on the other hand, is sweet.—Their feet are swift to shed blood, ever running to the slaughter. Destruction and misery are in their ways: their course is a miserable one towards death: and the way of peace have they not known.—Peace is of Christ; who said, Blessed are the peacemakers.—There is no fear of God before their eyes, to make them refrain from sin.*

It was concerning the Jews that the prophet David plainly foretold this: *for we know that what things soever* *ver. 19.* *the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law.*

By law is signified at times no more than the five books of Moses: at other times, these together with the prophets. And as the law concerned the Jews, the Jews were by these words declared to be all alike sinners along with the Gentiles: *that every mouth may be stopped—of Jews, as well as others, since they were accustomed to call the Gentiles sinners—and all the world may be brought under God and His grace. Because by the bodily deeds of the law there* *ver. 20.* *shall no flesh—no Jew—be justified in the sight of God; who is a Spirit, and will have spiritual righteousness. By*

¹ This is the explanation in the *Glossa Ordinaria*: "*Non est usque ad, etc. Christus tantum facit bonum in se et in suis.*"

the law, which pointed out transgressions, *is the knowledge of sin*. When limits were fixed and boundaries marked out, any crossing the fence was made manifest. Without the law, men sinned in ignorance: under the teaching of the law, they sinned knowingly. The law was a tutor¹ and schoolmaster, enjoining what was good, and forbidding what was bad; though its injunctions were given to men powerless to observe them. Therefore by the law the Jews had knowledge rather than goodness; whereas by grace all have goodness rather than knowledge.

ver. 21. *But now*, in this last time of grace, when Christ is shining in our hearts, *the righteousness of God*, that spiritual and more abundant and perfect righteousness, *without the carnal law is manifested*; so that now, in Christ, there is no need of the law. He has come as the fulfiller of the law. He has discharged its precepts with a more abundant righteousness. He has illumined its shadows by the flashing light of truth, being Himself the very *sun of righteousness*. He is the whole, true law in Himself; so that, satisfied with Him, we need no other law. He is the law borne witness to by that of Moses and the prophets; ver. 22. *for in them are predictions of the righteousness of God through faith of Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all them that believe:—that believe, I say, in Him,*² even Christ, that it is He of a truth.—The words *unto* and *upon* betoken their appearing righteous both inwardly and outwardly.³

The righteousness is sometimes called in St. Paul *the faith of Jesus*, sometimes *the righteousness of faith*; the

¹ The *padagogus*, or child's conductor, of Gal. iii. 24.

² In the Vulgate the words *in eum* are added after *credunt*, without the sanction of the Greek.—“*Particula in eum ex græco superflua est*,” notes Faber Stapulensis; “*ad exactiorem tamen intelligentiam adjecta videtur*.”

³ Dionysius Carthusianus, and (I believe) most of the old commentators who notice the twofold expression here, *unto all*, and *upon all*, make the former refer to the Jews, the latter to the Gentiles. Beza calls this an “*arguta potius quam solida interpretatio*.” Peile makes *unto* apply to the design, *upon* to the realization.—See his *Annotations* on Rom. iii. 22.

mode of speaking being peculiar to St. Paul. It is the true and perfect law, by which Christ supplemented the law of the flesh ; for He *came not to destroy, but to fulfil*, and as it were to animate with spiritual life the dead body of the law. This more abundant law is the excellence of that City of Christ, *set on an hill*, which is the church of the faithful, and is formed of both Jews and Gentiles. *For there is no difference.* Without any distinction, as God wills, does His grace take hold upon both Jews and Gentiles. Out of sinners, as materials, He has built up His holy church. *For all have sinned*, and stand in need of grace ; aye, even the whole race of men. It will be found that the Jews have gone astray from the law ; the Gentiles have fallen short of the rule of nature. Both need the justifying grace of God, and heavenly assistance from above, to recall, restore, and replace mankind with God.—*Being justified freely by his grace*, by the sole mercy and goodness of God : being made righteous instead of sinners, not by any merits or strength or endeavour of our own, but by the sole power and loving-kindness of God ; *freely, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.*

Matt. v. 17.

ver. 23.

ver. 24.

Jesus, God-made man, by paying the price of His own most precious death, made redemption for us and for our death. By dying for the world at large, otherwise destined to perish eternally, Jesus chose and claimed for Himself those whom He would ; and these He justified to His Father.—*Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation.*—God, our heavenly Father, by whom are all things, set forth Jesus as a propitiator, who by Himself, as a propitiatory sacrifice on the altar of the cross, might propitiate and appease God thus made propitious to men, and might render Him, who had been angry, peaceful and favourable. God the Father set forth His eternal Son as a propitiator and appeaser, and would have Him be very nigh to us, by taking upon Him our mortal nature. He was the Samaritan of the gospel, who drew near to the stripped and wounded man. He, though highest, for us became well-nigh lowest, to reconcile men to God *through faith in his blood* ; if we

Phil. iv.
18.

believe and hope in this so great sacrifice, as our purifier and reconciler. This was the propitiatory sacrifice offered for us, a sacrifice peaceful and appeasing, for *an odour of a sweet smell*.

Our ancient Abraham, even God, offered His own Son for the salvation of mankind, *to declare his righteousness*: that is, to show His justifying righteousness, which is His mercy: *for the remission of sins that are past*. For with the utmost mercy He forgave to all that were baptized unto God in the faith of the death of Christ, all their past sins, how great soever in days gone by; to the intent that thereafter they should live holy and undefiled with Him in the sustaining strength of God. Man's sins are forgiven, that he should henceforth live in patient goodness, upholding God and upheld by Him; *to declare his righteousness*.—God the Father dealt thus mercifully with us, to show His justifying righteousness and grace, *at this time*,—a time that is ripe, full, and seasonable.

The seasonable moments of time are known by God alone. As in bodily disorders there is a right moment for administering medicine,¹ so also in every act of God in regard of this sinful world, whether in the way of aiding or chastising, there are fit moments for His action, known to Himself alone. The time for displaying grace, which He did at the first coming of Christ; and the time for displaying vengeance, which He will do at Christ's second coming; knoweth no one save God only: *that he may be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus*. God has set forth Jesus as a propitiator through faith; that He Himself, the Father of Christ, may be righteous, and faithful to His promises; justifying by justifying righteousness all who are of the faith of Jesus Christ, who have all their hope and confidence in Christ, and trust in His redeeming death, holy and making holy. For it is in Jesus—in His redemption, in the hearing His teaching, in the imitation

¹ The frequency of Colet's illustrations from the healing art has been pointed out in the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 18, n.

cf. 2 Timothy

of His life—that our one and only and surest hope consists of eternal life in Him.

Wherefore that all-prevailing death of Christ, whereby death received its death-blow, must be constantly kept in remembrance; the teaching of Jesus must be listened to; His life must be ever kept before our eyes: that so, by hoping in His death, believing His wisdom, approaching to His goodness, we may in Jesus attain to well-nigh the same reward, that He has attained before us in glory.

Where is thy boasting then? thou overweening Jew, that *ver. 27.*
boatest in a law never truly kept by thee, at least as regards its inner meaning; though perchance at times thou hast observed it to a certain degree, in point of ceremonies and carnal actions:—as though to say, Now is righteousness revealed from heaven by Christ, and thy boasting is excluded. *By what law? of works?* Is it by some law that prescribes works of the flesh, and bodily ceremonies? *Nay:* for this law of Christ is not a law of that kind, but spiritual. By such a law of deeds as that, your deeds would not be excluded. *But is it by any law?* Yes, *by the law of faith;* by a righteousness that justifies in Christ Jesus; by the righteousness of faith: a righteousness in Christ alone; whilst we have recourse to faith, and hope in Him; and, being partakers of the justifying grace of God, are in Him through Christ Himself. This hope and this following after Christ is our righteousness, and our law; a law that annuls every other. This faith, which is so greatly praised, and which justifies in such a heavenly manner, is the faith of Christ, coupled with an imitation and setting forth of Him. This is true Christianity: this is the full and perfect righteousness of the perfect sons of God, described, as St. Matthew records, by Jesus Himself, our hope, when teaching on the mount. This righteousness, in brief, consists in a contempt for earthly things, and an ardent longing for heavenly things; in an endurance of every evil; in a performance of every good, at every time and towards all, in the sight and in the fear of God, for a heavenly reward: in a true and pure and simple and steadfast goodness, which cannot do otherwise than act in the best way. It is the

conduct of him who, taking no account of outward influences, but being truly good in himself, acts well to the utmost of his power, everywhere and at all times, with all and towards all, according to the measure of his goodness; satisfied with his own good action, even though it has profited nothing, even though the one he sought to benefit has been unworthy. As fire burns against the stones,¹ so does a good man benefit the bad.

- ver. 28. This is *the law of faith*, which excludes that of the Jews, and every other law. For we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.—We, says St. Paul, believe that a man is clearly justified and made righteous through true faith in Jesus, if only he be near Him by faith, and be made like Christ, *without the deeds of the law* to which the Jews had recourse.—He refers to their sacrifices, rites, ceremonies, and bodily worship; in which, with a remarkable devotion, the true Jews were constantly engaged. Leaving out of account all these works of the law, let any one but work Christ, and he will be justified, whether Jew or Gentile. For there is no difference. The good
- ver. 29. Jesus receives all without distinction. Is He, who is the God of all, *the God of the Jews only? is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also*; and they also through
- ver. 30. Christ may be saved. Seeing it is one God, the Father, which justifies—makes righteous—the circumcision, that is, Jews circumcised in the flesh, *by faith* in Jesus, if they circumcise themselves from every sin, and live spotlessly as Christians in Christ; and the uncircumcision, that is, Gentiles bearing the foreskin in the flesh, if they too hope in Christ, and follow in His footsteps, *through faith*—the faith which worketh Christ by love; otherwise it is not

¹ Lat. "ut ignis urit in lapides."—The allusion is probably to Job xxviii. 2;—in our Version, *brass is molten out of the stone*, but in the Vulgate, *lapis solutus calore in æs vertitur*: on which Gregory the Great moralizes in similar strain,—"*Tunc lapis calore solvitur, cum cor durum atque a divini amoris igne frigidum, eodem divini amoris igne tangitur, et in fervore spiritus liquatur.*"—*Moralium* Lib. xviii. § 575. There may be also a reference to Rom. xii. 20.

faith. To be such as Christ was, to the extent of your power:—this is justification.

Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid. ver. 31.
 No wise man would say so. One righteousness does not abolish another. The law was good and just, but imperfect and incomplete for the imperfect. The faith of Jesus is a more finished and perfect righteousness, completing the half-fulfilled law. On this account Christ said: *I am not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil;*—that men may enter the kingdom of heaven in its more abundant righteousness, as perfect sons of God. This was as much as to say: Unless you have had faith to a degree above the law of Moses, and in imitation of me have done better than the law ordains, no entrance into heaven will be open unto you. Matt. v. 17.

ALL things are summed up in Christ alone, *both which are in heaven, and which are on earth.* Eph. i. 10. Whatever righteousness the law has, whether openly prescribed or only typified, is contained in Christ Jesus; and the whole remaining sum of righteousness as well. For He was all righteousness; that He might Himself appear a full and complete law to men, and that, by believing in Him, they might need no other law besides. And thus the faith of Jesus does not *make void the law*, but *establishes* and builds it up, advances and perfects it.

He who gives a better development to anything, is not doing away with it, but rather settling and confirming it. By His new and more perfect covenant, Jesus threw light upon the old covenant of God. He did not destroy, but established, that covenant. He completed God's will, and joined in attesting, as a present witness, the half-completed testament.

Even so with regard to a man's last will and testament, which lawyers call "a just decision about what we should wish to have done after our death."¹ In the case of this

¹ This is the definition given in the *Digest*, Lib. xxviii. Tit. i. 1.—"*Testamentum est voluntatis nostræ justa sententia de eo quod quis post mortem fieri velit.*"—See also the *Fragmenta* of Ulpian (ed. Böcking,

also we may say that it is not broken or infringed, from having a better development given it after the testator's death by some godly man; and from more good being done, by a better will, than the dying man could have wished for. To act thus is not to infringe, but to perfect, a will; it is not to do away with, but to establish it. We believe that the testator also wished for what was best and most acceptable to God; and that, when he died, he was minded to have that last will of his made perfect in a better will, if any such there should be. For everyone is bound to desire what is best, though it is beyond his power to accomplish it. The latter involves power, the former goodness. No one ought to desire a lesser good. We are bound to wish for the best; and to ensue it, according to our power. In not effecting what is best, there is room for indulgence; but, beyond that, not to wish for what is best, or to refuse it when offered to us, is unpardonable.

Not unconnected, I think, with this subject is that of the probate of wills, as now practised by officers of the church, more for their own base gain, than for the real examination of the wills.¹ Their duty is to weigh carefully, as though in the scales of charity, the wills of the Church's sons; to consider each single provision contained in them; moreover to add, diminish, or alter, as reason and the balance of

1855), Tit. xx. p. 55.—But probably here also, as in the case of some other words which he defines, Colet was indebted more immediately to the *Cornucopiæ* of Perottus, where the above quotation will be found (ed. 1496), fol. 204.

¹ It is striking to compare this with the complaint in the *Petition of the Commons* (1529), on the subject of Probate Courts:—"And also in the spiritual courts of the said prelates and ordinaries, there be limited and appointed so many judges, scribes, apparitors, summoners, appraisers, and other ministers for the approbation of Testaments, *which covet so much their own private lucre*, and the satisfaction and appetites of the said prelates and ordinaries, that when any of your said loving subjects do repair to any of the said courts for the probate of any Testaments, they do in such wise make so long delays, or excessively do take of them so large fees and rewards for the same as is importable for them to bear."—Quoted in Froude's *Hist. of Engl.* I. p. 194.

charity demand: in a word, not to account them ratified and established, till they are brought to the measure and rule of charity by the Bishop; in whose hands, by God's grace, is the authority and power to do so.

JESUS, by His coming, carried out and perfected the old will and testament of God. And thus he did not impair the law, but fulfilled it. Wherefore St. Paul says, *we establish the law.*

There is this difference between the Old and New Testaments, that the Old was rudimentary and for a time, while the New is perfect and eternal. The Old had regard chiefly to the body; the New to the mind and spirit. While the Old severely punishes, the New mercifully pardons. And hence the Old is feared, but the New loved. Moreover the Old did but shadow forth; the New enlightens with clear colours.¹ Under the Old, men were chiefly corporeal; under the New, they are spirits. In the Old, it is the body which is considered; in the New, the great object is the soul. In the Old, God descends to men through Moses; in the New, men ascend to God through Jesus Christ. In the Old, the law was made flesh for man; in the New, man is made a spirit for the law—the law of Christian love. In the Old Testament were stern commands for men, weak and unable to obey; in the New there is gentle admonition, and grace giving the means of obedience. In the Old, men heard of righteousness; in the New, they are made righteous. In the Old was shown the powerlessness of man; in the New, there is set forth the power of God. In the Old, there was frequent indulgence and concession made to human passions; in the New, there is a total extinction of such passions; and a stand is taken, freely and voluntarily, on higher ground.

THE will of every Christian, whether in life or death, should in all things be in subjection to the will of God, and of the ministers of His church. It is his duty to wish for

¹ For Colet's use of the word *colours*, see the *Hierarchies*, pp. 5 and 105.

what is best, and also to suffer God's ministers to wish for and accomplish what is best, as regards himself. Otherwise he is not really a lover of that *best* of all, even God. And hence a man's last will and testament is defined to be "a just decision of what one would have done after death."¹ It is *just*, when it is in accordance with the divine will; the exponents of which are the true and lawful ministers of the church. It is in accordance with the divine law, when it is kindly and religious; seeking the honour of God; full of charity; studying the welfare of mankind and the Church; not opposed to a better interpretation; nor against morality, the established laws, or praiseworthy customs; in a word, when it is thoroughly honourable, and thoroughly practical. A will of such a kind ought neither to be impaired nor broken. But if it is out of harmony with the will of God, if it has nothing kindly, if it neither savours of charity, nor exhibits any fruit in grace, but only a wasteful outlay in pursuance of human affections,—then it both may be, and ought to be, invalidated.²

It should be noted that St. Augustine, in a sermon on the Life of the Clergy, wrote the following words, which we find inserted in the *Decree*:³—"If any one disinherits his son, to make the Church his heir, let him seek for some one else to be his executor, not me."—A man's will, at least if he be a Christian, ought to be *in subjection*,⁴ both in life, and in death, and after death. A bad will ought to be recalled⁵ to what is good; a good one improved to a

¹ See note above, p. 109.

² Lat. *dirumpi*.—The word *rumpere* was a technical one in regard to wills. See Lib. ii. Tit. xvii. of the *Institutes*.

³ *Pars II. Causa xvii. Quæst. 4.*—Colet in this instance gives the reference. The exact words, as they stand in the sermon of Augustine (Serm. CCCLV., *De vita et moribus Clericorum*, § 5), and in the Basle edition of the *Decretum*, 1493, are: "Quicumque vult exheredato filio heredem facere ecclesiam, querat alterum qui suscipiat, non Augustinum."

⁴ Lat. *subjecta sit*; with evident reference to Rom. viii. 7. But the phrase, as it stands, is somewhat abrupt.

⁵ There is a special force in this word, as Colet uses it; for, according to Dionysius (*Div. Nom.* iv. 7), the Greek word for *beauty* (*kallos*)

better ; even a better one is capable of being made perfect. Let there be no hindrance in the way of improvement. The souls of the departed ones themselves, if at large on earth, would wish for such improvement, at least if they are in a state of grace ; seeing that they so often repeated the words : *Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven*. To carry on anything to a better issue, is not to impair but to strengthen it ; it is not to invalidate, but to perfect.

God is one and the same for all, without partiality and without favour. He is not an acceptor of persons among men. Whom He wills, and in the way that He wills, He freely justifies : and as He has promised in His Old Testament that it shall be, so will He bring it to pass. For He is faithful, so as to be *justified in his sayings*. What He has said to men will verily be done, and in the way that He has said. God cannot be deceived, though men are deceived while He continues true. For *he is true, but every man a liar*. Rom. iii. 4.

O THOU unutterable mean ! admirable and adorable Jesus, Son of God and of the Virgin ! Through Thee, the ever worshipful, is God Thy Father made propitious to men. Through Thee are men reconciled to God. Through Thy death is our redemption ; through Thy blood is our washing ; through Thy mighty passion are the evil spirits put to flight ; through Thee as a sacrifice is God propitiated ; through Thee do frail men freely receive justification, salvation, and life eternal. Amen.

THE faith here spoken of is a good expectation, hope, and sure confidence in the eternal Jesus only, as in the very Truth itself, that will not fail us ; and a stedfast following after and attaining to Him, in His manner and way of living. His true followers are those, who have such faith

was derived from the word for *to call* (*kalein*) ; being something which drew men to it by its attractiveness. In this connection, *revocare* of itself implies a recall, or restoration, from the worse to the better.

in Him, as to believe undoubtingly that in Him, and through Him, and with Him, they will hereafter be, soul and body alike, immortal in the heavens. From such faith they obtain the name of His faithful followers, and their sect is the church of the faithful. These are called Christians from Christ Himself; all following in His footsteps, drawn by faith to Him, and led in Him, that with Him they may come to the life immortal. This faithful following of Christ is glorifying righteousness—the righteousness *of faith, by faith, through faith*. They who are in it are with Jesus in the mount:¹ they are a holy city, the salt of the earth, the light of the world; living in a more abundant righteousness, perfect sons of God, in a ninefold blessedness with Jesus; journeying in haste from hence to that heavenly country, to which the redeemed are called.

Rom. iii. 4. *EVERY man is a liar.*—All were sinners, far from the grace of God, in the bondage of subjection to sin, under the power of the devil; both Jews within the law, and Gentiles without it. *They were all gone out of the way.* Men had no hope of salvation, save from the grace of God through Jesus Christ. In Him we must believe: to the end that all who believe in Him may be freely justified through Him, and in Him, without any other. Through Him there is redemption of sins past. We that were slaves, are all alike set free. Enemies of God before, we are now reconciled. In the truth we believe; by goodness and grace we are justified; and all this freely: that we may own the marvellous loving-kindness of God, and love the good God, and serve Him with all charity, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Baptism is a divine means of expiation, whereby God expiates, cleanses, and thoroughly purifies from all sin and guilt and wickedness, both the souls and bodies of those who are followers of Jesus Christ.² This sacrament

¹ Matt. xvii. 1.—See also the note *ante*, p. 85.

² The subject of Baptism may seem to be introduced here somewhat unconnectedly. The connecting link seems to be the thought of it as the Sacrament of Initiation, through which the life in Christ, just spoken

was instituted by Jesus Himself, when He commanded His disciples to go and baptize *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. A pattern of it was shown moreover by Jesus Himself, who would have Himself baptized by John the Baptist; to sanctify the waters, and to let it be seen how blessedly the Holy Spirit descends on those, who emerge from the waters to Christ, and are called sons of God by a voice from above.

Matt.
xxviii. 19.

The essential parts of this sacrament are, consecrated water, and an invocation of the Divine Trinity, in a due and lawful utterance of these words: *I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*. These words must neither be altered, nor transposed, nor curtailed, nor suppressed, nor disjointedly uttered;¹ but pronounced sincerely and hopefully, with full, clear, and distinct enunciation.

In God's abundant grace, for the increase of believers, it is lawful for any one, without exception, to administer this sacrament in time of necessity; provided that it is the purpose of the one so acting to do what the Church of Christ does, even though he be not a believer in the Church itself.² But in every ecclesiastical office let an inferior give way to a superior.

of, is begun. At the end of Chap. iv. it is again introduced somewhat abruptly, but with evident reference there to the "raising up of Jesus from the dead," spoken of in v. 24.

¹ Lat. *nec vaste exprimi*.—The word *vaste* is used by Cicero of a rude, uncouth way of speaking (*De Or.* iii. 12, 45; and 43, 172: "Ne vastius diducantur verba"), answering in part to our "broadly." A similar injunction is given in a rubric of the Sarum Missal (quoted by Blunt, *Com. Prayer*, ii. 212), where it is directed that the words shall be pronounced "sine aliqua additione, subtractione, interruptione, verbi pro verbo positione, mutatione, corruptione, seu transpositione."—A strange instance of "corruptio" is given in Peter Lombard, *Lib. iv. Dist. 6*, under the heading "*Si baptismus sit, verbis corrupte prolatis*;" and in the *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie* (1567), fol. 10 vers., the limits are laid down within which the words might be altered or displaced without vitiating the sacrament. Thus, if mispronounced, "ex defectu idiomatis vel linguæ," but without malicious intent, the baptism would still be valid.—For this last reference I am indebted to Dr. Simpson.

² This is so decided by Aquinas, *Summa*, Pars iii. Qu. 67, Art. 3,

Matt. iii.
2; iv. 17.

A child when born should be baptized, that he may be born again by this sacred means of expiation, in the memory and faith of the suffering and death of Christ. In this way the souls of men are purified, and become so spotlessly clear, that were a soul to pass away there and then, it would fly straight to glory, provided that due penitence went before. For this requirement was made by both St. John and Jesus, at the outset of their preaching, when they said, *Repent*.

By this sacrament men are marked out, by an indelible sign and stamp, as belonging to the special people of God. By this sacrament the heat of sin (the *fuel*¹ of sin, as we may call it) is slaked, and abundant grace is given from on high. By this sacrament you die to the world, and begin to live to God;² advancing along the path of Christ in sweetness, whiteness, and light. This methinks is the meaning of the white christening-robe, and the candle,³ which you received at baptism. Let none look back; let none fall away. It is the opinion of some, that when men are backsliders, all the sins that had been blotted out, return

and still more expressly in the *Catechism* of the Council of Trent, Pars ii. 2, § 22: "Nam et Judæis quoque, et infidelibus, et hæreticis, cum necessitas cogit, hoc munus permissum est; si tamen id efficere propositum eis fuerit, quod ecclesia Catholica in eo administrationis genere efficit."

¹ The word *fomes* more exactly denotes the material used for *kindling* a fire, as in Aen. i. 167; but it seemed difficult to render it by any single appropriate term.—See Donne's *Devotions* (1626), p. 546.

² "Moreris mundo, incipis vivere Deo."—A special interest attaches to these words, from the circumstance of the inscription on Colet's tomb having ended with the line, "Disce mori mundo, vivere disce Deo." In his *Life of Alexander Nowell*, p. 237, Churton expresses his opinion that this memento was first composed "by the famous William Lily" for that purpose. If that be the case, Lily may have noted the saying as one often on Colet's lips, and thus meant it to be a significant reminder of him.

³ "Post baptismum traditur Christiano vestis candida, designans innocentiam et puritatem Christianam."—Gratiani *Decretum*, Pars iii. Dist. iv. cap. 91.—See also Dionysius, *Eccl. Hier.* ii. 8.—The candle is interpreted to signify "faith inflamed by charity." See O'Kane's *Notes on the Rubrics* (1867), §§ 352-4; as also Bingham's *Antiquities*, Bk. xii. c. iv. § 1.

to them again. And this opinion seems to be plainly supported by Christ's parable of the Unmerciful Servant.¹

CHAPTER IV.

IN this chapter St. Paul shows that Abraham was counted righteous from his faith, by God's grace alone, before he was circumcised; and that circumcision followed, as a sign of his faith. He was thus the father alike of the circumcised and of the faithful; while yet the justification of them all is by faith. The law, moreover, by its threats and prohibition of evils, exposed the Jews to wrath and judgment. Accordingly, righteousness was a thing still to be sought for, alike before the law and before circumcision. In Abraham there was of old a righteousness, namely, that of faith and hope in God. Further, bodily ceremonies are symbols of the spirit. The law stays transgressions, and calls men back to the spirit: but it attains not its purpose without the grace of faith. There remains, therefore, nothing but faith and hope, wherein we are made righteous in God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

God Himself is the one who justifies, in the meritorious purpose of His grace, those who believe in Jesus, the messenger of His supreme counsel.² God, who is a Spirit, justifies by spiritual righteousness the soul and spirit of man. He is above all things a discernor and observer of the heart,

¹ Trench, in his *Notes on the Parables* (ed. 1860, p. 157), remarks that "The question herein involved, Do sins, once forgiven, return on the sinner through his after offences? is one frequently and fully discussed by the schoolmen; and of course this parable, with the arguments which may be drawn from it, takes always a prominent place in such discussions."—The passages there referred to, from Peter Lombard, Aquinas, and others, are probably what Colet was thinking of.

² Lat. *summi consilii angelus*, an expression taken from the Septuagint version of Isaiah ix. 6, in place of the *Consiliarius* of the Vulgate. This variety of reading is noticed in the *Glossa Ord.* on Is. ix. 6, and hence perhaps Colet's acquaintance with it. He introduces it again in the *Hierarchies*, p. 9.

not of the shadowy¹ flesh and body; the offices and actions of which can neither make men righteous, nor advance them in any degree towards God. For God is a Spirit, making spiritual; and nothing abides in His presence, but faith which rests on Jesus, and expectation of the reward, and in this expectation the working of love:—*these three, but the greatest of these is charity*, and the imitation of Jesus. He who thus follows in the steps of Jesus, builds upon a sure rock. He is a fruitful tree. He not only *asks* in hope, and *seeks* in faith, but also *knocks* in charity. He not only says, *Lord, Lord*, but he adds a third *Lord*; and by doing the will of God, confesses God in his works. *By their fruits*, says our Saviour, *ye shall know them*. This sect and school of philosophy of Christ is one not so much in words, as in deed, in works, in life itself; and a justifying faith implies in its very meaning an imitation of Christ, and fellow-working with Him; being elsewhere called by St. Paul, *faith which worketh by love*. He who works in the Holy Spirit, is reckoned to hope in God, and believe in Christ. *Faith without works*, says St. James, *is dead*. And St. John adds his testimony: *He that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also to walk, even as he walked*.

1 Cor. xiii. 13.
Matt. vii. 20.
Gal. v. 6.
James ii. 20.
1 Joh. ii. 6.

THE patriarch Abraham was righteous both in spirit and in flesh; both in the sight of God and of men; having the invisible, no less than the visible, circumcision. He had at once both the reality, and the token of that reality. First he believed; then he received the sacrament of faith, even fleshly circumcision. First he was a Christian as regards faith; afterwards he was circumcised as regards the flesh. When bidden to offer up his only-begotten son Isaac, in token of his love to God, he learnt in the spirit that God the Father would offer up His only-begotten Son, Jesus, in token of His love to man. Abraham then *saw the day of Christ, and was glad*; and had faith in the propitiatory sacrifice that would be hereafter. And thus, being in the

John viii. 56.

¹ Lat. *umbrosa carnis*. Compare the *Lectures on Romans*, pp. 26, 42, and 231.

sight of God a Christian, and faithful, before he was circumcised, and being acceptable to God, he received in his body a rude sign of that acceptable faith, to be an attestation thereof to men. When his mind has been laid bare to God,¹ his body is laid bare also; that the latter may be a witness to the former.

SINGLENESS of mind in faith was earlier than singleness of flesh; and from the first fall of man, all that were esteemed righteous before God, believed with the mind on Christ whom they looked forward to, before they proceeded to any work in the flesh. They worshipped God the Father, through Jesus, in soul and spirit, before doing so in any bodily act. And after grasping in their minds the conception of Jesus, thus shown them by revelation, they meanwhile, during the interval of expectation, made Christ present to them, so to speak, for their own consolation, by shadows and similitudes. By symbolic sacrifices, as in a play,² they endeavoured as well as they could, under the divine prompting, to represent what Christ would do in the real sacrifice of Himself. In the absence of that reality which they so much loved, they found some pleasure at least in emblems of it, and contemplated in them the intense reality that was to be.

When Adam was cast down into misery, he learnt in spirit that he should one day regain his happiness through Jesus Christ. It was of this he prophesied, when he said: *a man shall leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave* Gen. ii. 24. *unto his wife*—that is, to his bride the Church.³

When righteous Abel, whom Cain in his envy slew, offered of the firstlings of his flock, what else did that

¹ Colet enlarges upon this laying bare the *inner man*, divested of all external superfluities, in his *Treatise on the Sacraments*, p. 79.—See also *ante*, p. 84.

² Compare the *Hierarchies*, p. 11.—“Thus led he forth those un instructed Hebrews, like boys, to school; in order that, like children playing with dolls and toys, they might represent in shadow what they were one day to do in reality as men.”

³ See the *Treatise on the Sacraments*, pp. 54 and 64.

dutiful shepherd mean to signify, than this; namely, that there would be a shepherd of God's sheep, even Jesus, to offer Himself as a firstling, and as a sheep without blemish to God, for those that are ordained to salvation? To that offering God *had respect*—regarded it with favourable eyes—by reason of what was signified by it.

Gen. iv. 26. When Enos, the third from Adam, *began to call upon the name of the Lord*,¹ what other name did he call upon than the name of Jesus?

Gen. v. 22. So also with Enoch, the seventh from Adam, who *walked with God*, and whom at last God *took away* to Himself alive: who else was the God he walked with, but Christ? It was He whom he contemplated in the future, and strove diligently to follow then.

Gen. v. 29; vi. 8, 9. Or, once more, what do we read of Noah, the tenth from Adam, who was born for man's *comfort*; who *found grace in the eyes of the Lord*; who was a *just man and perfect*, and *walked with God*? Being spared after the Deluge, he reared an altar to the Lord, and offered whole burnt offerings of the cattle that were clean, smelling with a sweet savour to God. The meaning of which act could be none other than this: namely, that as he meditated profoundly on Jesus, crucified along with His crucified ones—that is, the holy and spotless *martyrs*, who died as burnt-offerings to God, in the fire of their love towards God and towards men;—as he thus meditated, I say, he commemorated, as in a picture, the eventful sacrifice, thus to happen in the future.

After the Deluge followed a burning; after water, fire; after sin, grace in the justified ones.

THERE are two kinds of men, the righteous, and sinners. Of these, the latter are overwhelmed by the deluge of their sins; the former are offered as burnt-offerings to God in the fire of Christian love. When the sinners have been

¹ In our version of Gen. iv. 26, it is: *then began men to call upon the name of the Lord*. The Vulgate has *iste cepit invocare*, etc.; and so the Rhemish: *this man* (i.e. Enos, just mentioned) *began to call upon the name of the Lord*.

overwhelmed by the flood of their iniquities, the righteous *flame-born*¹ ones that remain (so I call those who are sprung from the flame of the Holy Spirit), even all true Christians, will come forth happily deified from the blessed conflagration; being offered to God *for a sweet savour*. As the material world is ended, first by water and afterwards by fire;² so will the spiritual world be consummated by sin and by grace. By sin the wicked will be swallowed up, to everlasting death; by grace the righteous will burn, to everlasting life. Hence the deluge, wherein sinners perished in the days of Noah, was followed by a conflagration, and acceptable burning of most clean victims.

Lev. viii.
28.

The greater part of mankind sin, to everlasting death: a few burn, to everlasting life.

SINCE I have been led on, in speaking of Noah, to the subject of the ark, I may here note that, even in the ark, there were unclean beasts; just as there was an unrighteous son along with Noah: but yet that, through the sacrifice of the clean, God was appeased towards both the clean and the unclean. Even so in the ship of the church, whose captain is Christ, there are many brought in that are sinners and unclean: but yet, by the sacrifice of the righteous, they may be borne up and saved.

Origen³ affirms that one chief cause of the fall and abandonment of the world is the failing of *human sacrifices*; that is, of martyrs, who are propitiatory sacrifices for sin.

¹ Lat. *flammigenæ*.

² This was thought to be symbolized by the outer margin of the rainbow being azure, the inner, flame-coloured. Thus Walafrid Strabo, in the *Glossa Ord.* on Gen. ix. 13:—"Arcus duos habet colores, ceruleum et igneum, qui duo judicia expriment: unum aquæ, quod preterit; aliud ignis, quod venturum creditur in fine seculi. Unde ceruleus color extrinsecus; ignis vero intrinsecus."—See also Hieronymus Magius, *De Mundi Exustione* (1562), p. 9.

³ The reference appears to be to the *Comment. in Joann.* Pars. vi.:—"Quamobrem existimare debemus destructionem fieri potentiarum maleficarum per mortem sanctorum martyrum." Just afterwards he speaks of "martyribus . . . qui fuerunt mundi purgatio."—Orig. *Op.* ed. 1759, tom. iv. p. 153.

Gen. xii.
9, 8.

To proceed, now, with Abraham, who is our present subject. God spake with him, and dealt more graciously with him, than with any former patriarch. For He called him forth to another land; He gave to him and to his seed many great promises:—numerous offspring, wide dominion, prolonged glory; and finally entered into covenant with him; promising Himself to Abraham, if Abraham would give himself up to Him. This Abraham, then, who *journeyed, going on still toward the south*, and who so often dutifully *builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord*, saw by the clear spirit in the boundless future the means of salvation, even Jesus Christ: and it was this which he rehearsed by figures, as in a play. In offering up his son, he called to mind the fact that the Son of God would have to be offered up. And thus, believing God, he was counted righteous in the sight of God by reason of his belief and simple faith. He readily believed even what was incredible to man, and in unshaken hope looked for what he believed. This faith was Abraham's praise in the spirit: this possession of a naked and simple faith was his righteousness. This *single eye* was his law, making his *whole body full of light*. He excelled in the reality, before the circumcision was given which imaged it. Afterwards that rite followed, as a sign in the body of the inward reality; a fitting testimony of the faith which went before in uncircumcision.

Matt. vi.
22.

Men must ever have something apparent to the outward sense, as a reminder to them. For they regard things sensible only, and that by sense; and the one who exhibits such an outward token, is by men's judgment reckoned among the just. But in the sight of God, who is a searcher of the heart, it is not by such carnal observances that one is justified, but by faith. To those who work the works of the body a reward is due; but justification is a free gift to those who believe. For it is through grace that men believe, and through grace that the believers are justified. Without the justifying righteousness of faith, no work of the flesh or of the body is of any avail in the spirit.

WHAT shall we say then that Abraham, our father as pertaining to the flesh, hath found?—After replying to an objection that might be brought regarding the Jew and his Law, by showing that faith was the justifying law, St. Paul now aims at replying to another objection. For as some carnal-minded Jew might have risen up at once, when in the Second Chapter he concluded all things to be in the spirit, and might have asked, of what avail then was the Law of Moses? so now might some one ask, of what avail was the circumcision of Abraham? The Apostle has just shown clearly by the testimony of the law itself, that all under the law were sinners; whilst in the present chapter he so extols Abraham, whose name was venerated among the Jews, and declares him to have been endued with such righteousness, namely, the righteousness of faith, as would befit even the most righteous Christians.

Observe the marvellous skill which is here shown by that divine orator St. Paul; and the marvellously effective way of address which he uses, in tempering sweet with bitter, words that soothe with words that wound. His previous language might have offended the Jews, from its disparaging their law: the present language appeases them again by its exaltation of Abraham; who is affirmed to be righteous in the highest degree, though differently, and in a different kind of righteousness, from what they supposed.

WHAT then—if all things are in secret, in spirit before God, and if all righteousness is spiritual, as easy of access to the Gentile as to the Jews—*shall we say that Abraham, our most famous father, hath found as pertaining to the flesh*¹—that is, to the body, and bodily worship? St. Paul makes answer, that Abraham's righteousness as pertaining to the flesh and bodily worship, if there were any such to deserve the name, was a righteousness in the sight of men, and not of God. God looks upon the heart. Hence his words are, *For IF*

¹ It will be observed that the order of words in the Vulgate of Rom. iv. 1 (*Quid ergo dicemus invenisse Abraham patrem nostrum secundum carnem*), leaves it doubtful whether *secundum carnem* is to be taken with *invenisse* or with *patrem nostrum*. The punctuation in the English version leaves an equal uncertainty.

- ver. 2. *Abraham*:—as much as to say: I will not affirm that Abraham was righteous on account of any works of the flesh; but *IF Abraham was justified by works* of the body—by circumcision and sacrifices, *he hath ground of boasting*, and this praise of righteousness: *but not before God*, who sets no store by carnal things. He has it only before men, and those too men of dull understanding; who perceive nothing but what is seen before their eyes. *For what saith the Holy Scripture?*
- ver. 3.

He means the Old Testament, called simply Scripture, by way of distinction, because it contains the words of God. St. Paul constantly refers to the Scriptures in dealing with the Jews, because he knew that they listened to them willingly.

The Scripture, then, saith as follows: *Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness*.—These words are found in the Book of Genesis.—When Abraham was returning from the slaughter of the kings, the Lord appeared unto him, saying, *Fear not, Abram: I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward*. And then, on his complaining of the want of children, and grieving that a servant would be his heir, the Lord answered him: *this shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir*. And he brought him forth abroad, and said, *Look now toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able to number them: so shall thy seed be*. Then the Scripture says: *Abraham believed in the Lord; and he counted it to him for righteousness*; because he showed faith in the promises of God, who had promised him a seed to the number of the stars. On this account is he esteemed righteous, from the readiness of his faith; a thing most acceptable to God.

Gen. xv.
1, 299.

Observe now that, in bidding him look up to *heaven*, and tell the number of the *stars*, God meant that the promised children of Abraham would be heavenly, not earthly, men; his children, and imitators of his faith by heavenly grace. Those stars in the heaven were to be starlike men¹ in a

¹ In De Lyra, Christians are said to be typified by the seed nume-

heavenly church. When Abraham believed, he was made their progenitor; and in like manner all who should in after times believe, were called his sons. For he is a truer son of any man, who recalls his spirit, and reproduces his character, than the one who has drawn his origin from him after the flesh.¹ In *this* righteousness of faith, Abraham had whereof to glory before God.

Now to him that worketh—that busies himself in doing any work, and toils as a labourer—is the reward not reckoned of grace—not reckoned as a free gift—but of debt. It is just that the due reward be paid him for his labour. That worship and bodily sacrifice of the Jews, and those many rites and varied ceremonies, on which the Hebrew spent so much care and pains, were but a servile labour, a performance of so much work, so to speak, demanding its due reward. Whereas, on the other hand, that abundant reward in heaven is not *due*, but *gratuitous*, and gratuitously bestowed. Nay, even in the case of righteousness itself, which may seem to deserve a crown of glory, a gracious God has dealt graciously with men. For, as St. Augustine says, “in crowning men’s deserts, God is but crowning His own gifts.”² Wherefore St. Paul adds: *But to him that worketh not* in bodily service, nor laboureth in any way, *but believeth*—only believeth—*on him*, the gracious God, *that justifieth the ungodly* altogether without merits, and of His mere grace and good will makes the sinner righteous with the righteousness of faith:—*to him that believeth*, I say, *his faith is counted for righteousness*; and

Rom. iv. 4.

ver. 5.

rous as *stars*, and Jews by that compared to the *dust of the earth* (Gen. xiii. 16).

¹ On the principle that form is nobler than matter.—Conversely in the *Hierarchies*, p. 159, Colet says that “in point of paternity in Christ, the godfather is more truly a father, who completes in Christ the human being when born, than the father who has furnished the substance for his flesh.”

² The thought occurs several times in St. Augustine; as for instance, in the *Enarratio II. in Psal. LXX. Serm. II.*—“*Supplicium tibi debetur, et cum præmium venerit, sua dona coronabit, non merita tua.*”—See also the end of his *Enarratio in Psal. CXXXVII.*; and his reflections on 2 Tim. iv. 8, in the *Enarr. in Psal. CII.*

he is righteous on this ground alone, that with the mind he believes, and with the mind he labours in striving to imitate God; *according to the purpose of the grace of God*, and His voluntary bestowal. For God has been gracious to sinners, His enemies, of pure spontaneousness, without any merit on their part preceding, or any being expected in the future, *according to his purpose*:—as He purposed and willed it in His own free will; so that there should be no other principle of justification, than the pure and simple will of God.

ver. 6.

Even as David also describeth.—He cites the prophet David, who sang of the *blessedness of the man*—how blessed he was—to whom, *being accepted*¹ by grace, and admitted to the gift of God, *God brings*—that is, bestows—*righteousness without works*; to whom God shows grace of His own mere will, without any reason in men themselves to demand it; nay, rather, with many reasons to dissuade. God's gift, and God's renewal of His gift, are wholly free. The song

Ps. xxxii.
1.

of the divine poet, David, is: *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven*—the bands of whose sins are slackened and unloosed, after binding their souls most tightly to everlasting death; *and whose sins are covered*—being hidden from the eyes of God, that He may not look down upon them to the sinner's condemnation. For there is nothing in man but the justest cause of death; there is nothing to deserve grace, but only to provoke wrath. Man, and the race of man, sinned unpardonably. Nothing remained for him in his misery, save death, the wages of sin. Man was a worker of iniquity in the common sewers of the Devil: his just and due reward was damnation. And therefore,

Ib. ver. 2.

Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin. Truly blessed is that man, whosoever he be, whose sins God reckons not up nor counts, but forgets, and, if we may so speak, winks at and passes by.

¹ Colet has in this instance misunderstood the phrase *accepto fert* in the Vulgate: *cui Deus accepto fert justitiam sine operibus*. Erasmus rightly explains it as "imputat sive acceptum fert."—Dionysius Carthusianus is undecided which way to take it:—"Cui (homini) Deus accepto, id est, tempore gratiæ; de quo legitur, *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile*: vel *accepto*, id est, acceptanter, gratis et pie."—*Commentaria*, 1533, p. 11.

OH, how dreadful in the sight of God are sins! Oh, how great is man's confusion! Here do I, helpless one, conscious of my sins, and blushing at them in secret, cry suddenly and lift up my voice to Thee, most loving God and Father; saying, Impute not unto me my sins! Out of the depths does my cry break forth: *If thou, Lord, shouldst mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?* I confess that I am worthy of death; I am self-condemned; I am laboriously sinking into destruction: scarce dare I *lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help.* Yea, but Thy truest mercy, O Lord, which considereth not what my iniquity deserves, but what Thy goodness would have,—that mercy bids me say: *Why art thou cast down, O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope in God: for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.* That mercy says: *I will send down from on high, and fetch thee, and take thee out of many waters; and I will bring thee forth into a large place.* That mercy in fine will save me, because it hath a favour unto me. For there is no other reason of salvation than the will of God.

Ps. cxxx.
3.

Ps. cxxi. 1.

Ps. xliii. 5.

Ps. xviii.
16, 19.

But let us return to St. Paul.

COMETH this blessedness then, and this loosing from sins and liberty in God, of His mere voluntary grace, *upon the circumcision only?* Is this grace upon the Jews alone? or *upon the uncircumcision also?*—As though he would say: the Gentiles also possess it, and not merely the carnally circumcised. And this he proves by the instance of Abraham; whose sins God pardoned, and who was justified by faith, before he was circumcised. *For we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness.* By trusting in God he was justified. *How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision,* since he was not as yet circumcised, *but in uncircumcision;* his foreskin unremoved, before that rite began. And thus the righteousness of Abraham consisted not in the circumcision of the flesh, but in the circumcising of his mind from all distrust of God;¹ and in a bare and simple faith; which

ver. 9.

ver. 10.

¹ See the note above, p. 119.

was soon after followed by its symbol, the circumcision of the bodily member.

ver. 11. *And Abraham received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had yet being uncircumcised.* Circumcision was a sign of previous faith. And thus Abraham was faithful both before circumcision and after; that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised—for example, of the Gentiles; that there might be imputed a like faith to those Gentiles also, unto righteousness before God: and the father of circumcision—of all the spiritually circumcised, whether Jews or Gentiles—not only to them who are of the circumcision in the flesh, if at any time they believe, but also to them who follow the footsteps of his faith, and imitate faithful Abraham, whoever and whencesoever they may be:—the faith, I say, of our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised. For it was this faith, and not circumcision, that had the precedence in our father Abraham.

ver. 12.

In the dispute of our Master, Jesus, with the Jews, as recorded by St. John, when they presumptuously maintained that they were free, and boasted that they were the seed and children of Abraham; Jesus answered that they were slaves, because sinners; and in truth were not Abraham's children, since they followed not the footsteps of his faith. His words were: *If ye are the children of Abraham, do the works of Abraham.* And by this He showed that there was a truer sonship in imitating a parent's life and character, than in partaking of his flesh.¹ To image forth a man's life and spirit, is to be his son. The sons of Abraham are those, who have succeeded to the grace and faith of Abraham. They are his true seed in the sight of God; and to them the promises of God pertain. And whoever would share these promises, let him strive to exhibit Abraham's faith.

John viii.
39.

Rom. iv.
13.

For not through the law was the promise.

Here I mean to digress a little from my subject, and speak about *law*; a term of varied import, and in these days very laxly used.

¹ See note before, p. 125.

Now, to trace the matter back, up to the very beginning and source from which all flows, *law* is nothing else than God,¹ and the divine will. He established all things; fixing the proper limit of each, and ordaining a beautiful order in the world. He finally commanded every created being to act holily and uprightly, to the utmost of its power, so as to promote the honour of God, the preservation of the world, and the common welfare. This was a divine right and command of general application. The first to transgress this law and will of God, in the commonwealth of the universe, was the order of angels. This was the beginning of unrighteousness and iniquity in creation. And the leader in this most wilful transgression was the one whom we call, by a Greek name, the Devil; the same whom the Latins call the Accuser, because that (as Lactantius² relates), when cast down from heaven, he has not ceased to *accuse* God. Unwilling to acknowledge the sin to be his own, with intolerable pride he charges it upon God.—Such shifting an accusation on to others, and excusing oneself, and making oneself out to be sinless and unblamable, is a presumption abominable in God's sight. This father of lies and of iniquity, setting himself up against God (whence indeed his name *Satan*, that is, *Adversary*), ceases not, to the utmost of his power, to spread his own unrighteousness among God's creatures. For, so far as he is allowed by God, he strives, with unabashed wickedness, and unutterable malice, to disturb and overthrow all things. As all good proceeds from God, in a ceaseless stream of bounty; so on the other hand all evil, deformity, and destruction, proceeds from the Devil. He is the darkener of light, the perverter of justice, the ruiner of all order and beauty, the wrecker of all our estate. From him, as the first transgressor of divine

¹ "Deus enim nobis Lex est; in omnem illa quidem partem ad æquilibrium vergens; nullam correctionem admittens, nullam varietatem, quippe quæ potior sit illis legibus et stabilior, quæ in tabulis perscriptæ sunt."—c. vi. sub fin. of the *De Mundo* (attributed to Aristotle).

² "Hunc ergo ex bono per se malum effectum Græci *Diabolon* appellant; nos *criminatorem* vocamus, quod crimina, in quæ ipse illicit, ad Deum deferat."—*Divin. Institut.* II. 9.

law, there has come every rash transgression of just laws, that has ever happened in any one.

Man, created on the earth, and placed in the pleassance of paradise, to live in obedience to God, is assailed by the Devil with deadly temptation, and at once becomes a transgressor of the divine command. Not contented with his lot, but aiming at higher things, he is straightway overthrown and cast down. See the pride that has its fall ! the ambition that overthrows ! the disobedience that lays prostrate ! Ill has it fared with man, diseased and dying every hour, since his transgression of the divine law ; when, forsaken by the grace once abounding, he was driven from that high and healthful dwelling-place, where life is everlasting, to this valley of contagion and pestilence. In this evil region his will is distorted, his understanding obscured, his memory impaired, his fleshly appetites inflamed ; while the causes of disease and death, both of body and of soul, are endless. Nothing is here but iniquity, ignorance, weakness, downfall, destruction ; nothing but the cold of wickedness, the darkness of folly, the winter of death ; nothing but dissolution, extravagance, deformity, aberration of life, baseness, shame. And the author of these woes, and of man's wretchedness, the Devil, sallying forth from the abyss, with his black and loathsome host of malignant spirits, strives unceasingly both to keep man in this unhappiness, and also to increase his woes, and to heap up evils on his head. Overwhelmed by this flood of iniquity, the human race are like fishes,¹ each one swimming on his own course ; roaming now in this direction, now in that, as each one's will and pleasure draws him.

But God, looking down from on high on this hapless and lost condition of the human race, has ever, from the very first, stretched out a helping hand to some, as He himself willed. These He has drawn to Him from this river of

¹ Colet is fond of this comparison.—See the *Lectures on I. Cor.* p. 21, where he speaks of “those whom we observed to be swimming in this mundane sea, like mere fishes ; who with watery flesh, and feeble force, and unreceptive eyes, are in death rather than in life.”

Lethe;¹ in order that they may look back upon heaven, and their ancient country, and remember God their Creator; and that they may advance some way on the opposite road, and through obedience and faith may return to God. In this world were Adam, and Enos, and Enoch, and Noah, and Abraham, and Melchisedec, and Isaac, and Jacob, and Joseph; as is related by that primitive writer of God, Moses. These lifted up their heads a little way above the waves;² and in the clear spirit of God, as in air, they looked up, so far as their purblind eyes would suffer them, to God, their Sun of Righteousness. Their aspirations were upwards; they would fain sacrifice to God, and walk with God; they strove to draw others along with them towards the light.

They who, in that light of eternity, stood clear above the waters of sin, were first blessed with the vision of this truth, as of something hidden in the secret counsels of God;—namely, that in due time there would arise A MAN, by whose means the human race might repent, and, if it so willed, might return to God. Him—the coming one—they began to love and worship; Him they vehemently desired; in Him they had all their most deep-rooted hopes. The one thus pointed out in the future was our most holy Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, ever to be named with fear and reverence. Him, so far as was granted them, they strove to copy. And what they could not attain to, in their then state of weakness, whether in religion or righteousness, they expressed by seemly figures, and shadowed forth in

¹ This sounds like a reminiscence of Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 748 :—

“Has omnes
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno,
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant
Rursus, etc. ;”

especially as these lines end the famous passage beginning “Principio cælum ac terras, etc.,” perhaps the most often quoted of all Virgil’s writings by scholars of the middle ages.—See also the *Lect. on I. Corinthians*, xv. n., and 69.

² Compare with this the striking passage in the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, p. 24, where the chosen servants of God are likened to mountain heights, first caught by the rays of the morning sun.

outline, as it were, on ruder material.¹ Of this nature were their sacrifices of clean animals, and their burnt offerings on the mountains; whereby they sought to represent that Sacrifice of sacrifices, Jesus Christ Himself. For He alone is the sacrifice and propitiatory offering for sins.

But the remaining multitude, tossed to and fro on the sea of iniquity, forgetful of God, and ignorant of the way, in their wilful perverseness established for themselves most foolish and unjust laws. Their religion was idolatry, and a worship of vanity. Their righteousness was unrighteousness. What in sooth could issue from them, in such blindness and infirmity of nature, save injustice, folly, and death? Of this kind were the *rights of nations* that prevailed among sinners in the earth, before and without Christ:—*rights*, that is, men's highest *wrongs*.² Of this description were the *civil laws*, and the *municipal laws* of each several state; whether consisting of the decrees of princes, or, in a word, of that time-honoured public custom, which men by common consent are wont to consider as established law. These laws were plainly corruptions, proceeding from intoxicated and corrupted men; since they had neither their source nor their end in God.³ In their ignorance of the true end, men knew not what to aim at in their enactments. Having regard, in their blindness, to this life only, they ordained what was prompted by the will and pleasure of this life, by vain-

¹ Compare the *Hierarchies*, p. 103, and *De Sacramentis*, p. 48.

² See Cic. *De Off.* I. 10, and Erasmus's *Adagia* (ed. 1629), p. 619. —It is significant that More in his *Utopia* (ed. 1563, p. 23), makes Raphael quote this proverb at the table of Cardinal Morton, touching the severity with which thieves, and the like, were then brought to justice in England.

³ Colet may have taken this tone from Plato. See the *Leges*, iv. 7, 8, and the remarks of Bp. Hampden (*Fathers of Greek Philosophy*, 1862, p. 277):—"That government only which most resembles a Theocracy is, in Plato's view, a true polity . . . Governments, as they exist, are only the results of the struggles of contending factions," &c.—Erasmus, with more practical wisdom, while not denying that the laws of civil governments were "not altogether in accordance with Christian purity," yet counselled obedience to them, lest worse should ensue:—"ne quid deterius exoriat."—*Letter to Paulus Volzins*, prefixed to his *Enchiridion* (ed. 1523), a. 8.

glory, by private interest. Hence arose parties, divisions, wars, deaths; hence, unlawful arts and unprofitable exercises; hence, base gratifications, ruinous gain, wilful loss. The very evils men blindly sought to avoid, they brought upon themselves, so that the words of David might be applied to them.¹

MAN had no whole and undefiled nature, no unclouded reason, no upright will. Whatever men did amongst themselves, was foolish and wicked. Whether they ordered anything to be done, or forbade it, all was shifting and changeable; was obscure, unprofitable, mischievous. Their religion was mere trifling, or rather, a detestable madness. This was the fruit of lost and ruined Adam: withered fruit, stinking in the nostrils of God. Forsaken of God, and cast far out from His presence, man had within himself a *reason*, but too truly the slave of his body; a body, the slave of lust; and lust that lorded it over all. Such a slavish lordship was there among men; and the greatest lords among them were the greatest slaves, yielding an abject submission to base passions: their lot the more miserable, in that, while thus entangled in darkness beneath the prince of darkness, they ruled over poor darkling men.

St. Paul spake with full knowledge of this most unhappy condition of man, when he thus mournfully soliloquized on human misery, in the name of the whole human race: *I was alive without the law*—meaning the law of Moses—*once: I died; I am carnal, sold under sin. For that which I do I allow not—I perform it, as it were, unwillingly; but sin that dwelleth in me performeth it. In me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. There is a law in my members, warring against the other, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.* Rom. vii.
9, *sqq.*

Methinks the good St. Paul said this with tears. Then at the last he gives utterance to the cry: *O wretched man*

¹ No particular passage is cited in the text; but several will occur as almost equally appropriate: for instance, Ps. x. 2 (from the Vulgate), *They are caught in the counsels which they devise.*

that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? In grace he soberly answers: *The grace of God,*¹ *through Jesus Christ our Lord.*

Well and wisely answered, Paul! Grace alone can heal the disorders of man, when brought down to men from God, through the God-man, Jesus.

In this grace were the few chosen ones out of those men of old time, who both foresaw and prophesied of the Jesus that should be. But the remaining multitude throughout the world lived without grace, in their fallen nature, and by the corrupt law called the *law of nature*:—not the law of simple, holy, and inviolate nature (for that state of innocence was in paradise alone), but of a defiled and corrupted nature.

- ✓ THIS law of a corrupter nature is the same as that *Law of Nations*, resorted to by nations all over the world; a law which brought in ideas of *meum* and *tuum*—of property, that is to say, and deprivation; ideas clean contrary to a good and unsophisticated nature: for that would have a community in all things.² From the same tainted and impaired nature, and from a bedimmed reason, there flowed in due course *Civil Law*: a term used for all the additions to, and diminutions from, the *Common Law*:³ for

¹ The Vulgate has *gratia Dei* in Rom. vii. 25, in place of *gratias ago Deo*, which would answer to the English version. Erasmus suggests that the reading may have originally been *gratia Deo*.—See further the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 23.

² More appears to have been equally influenced with Colet by the communism of Plato's *Republic*. For a community of goods is the very groundwork on which the Utopian constitution rests; and in this light he refers to it towards the end of the *Utopia* (Burnet's tr., 1753, p. 167), as "what seemed the foundation of all the rest; their living in common, without the use of money." And though the author there professes to consider the opinion an absurd one, it had plainly worked much in his mind. "When I balance all these things in my thoughts," he had said before, "I grow more favourable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved, not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things."—*Ib.* p. 48.

³ It will be seen that these terms are used in a general sense; *Civil Law*, for instance, not being limited to the "law of the ancient Romans"—

the constitution, in short, framed by any people for itself, as the special constitution of that state. These systems of civil law, which every state had, being before Christ and without Christ, were but particular corruptions from the general depravity: branches, so to speak, from a decayed root. And, as if to make their infatuation more evident, these civil laws were kept by the different states, some written on parchment, others graven on blocks of wood.¹ With regard to such matters as the intercourse of the sexes; the begetting and rearing of children; eating, sleeping, waking; and whatever else can be mentioned, that we have in common with the brute creation;² these they either wholly perverted, or they exceeded the due limits of them, or abused the powers implanted by nature: causing even nature herself, in their perverse will, to seem the parent of sin. Thus the law of human nature was one great iniquity; a perverted reason and design; a mother of sin and of all base and hurtful action: and the wages thereof everlasting death.

Under this term, namely, the law of man's nature, I include alike the Law of Nations, Civil Law, Common Custom, human Statutes and Decrees, and the like; and whatever corruption besides had its source in the corrupt nature and disposition of man. For disobedience and sin so weakened the first offspring of Nature, that they in turn could beget nothing but what was tainted and blemished: it so impaired their powers, that frail man was ever failing and sinking downwards through excess of weakness. Forsaken by grace, and unsteady, man could not set foot down and walk in the slippery ways of this world, without stumbling. In his actions, he was as one planting his footsteps on ice; and on this slippery path he was ever falling. The sequel of the first fall was one long course of

(see Burn's *Ecclesiastical Law*, 1842, Pref. p. xi.), but applied to the distinguishing laws of any separate state.

¹ Lat. *nemoribus incisas*. This is a late usage of *nemus*; a first step towards which we may see in Seneca, *Herc. Fur.*: "Quin strictum acervans nemore congesto aggerem."

² Forming the *Jus Naturale*.

downfall, stumbling, error, and deception, among mankind ; on which account our fallen and ruined human nature could not establish anything sure, anything inviolate, anything wholesome, anything either pleasing to God or profitable to mankind. Men's lives and laws, their manners and actions, were polluted and foul.

Rom. xii. 2. From this misery and unhappiness of life, from these disastrous laws, and this mournful condition of our race, the notable and chosen men I spake of were exempt. They were drawn by divine grace above the waves of the world, to live under better laws in the Spirit of God ; in order that, being reformed by divine right into *newness of spirit*, as St. Paul says, they *may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God* ; and may hope in that arbiter of right, Jesus Christ.

Into this divine law, out of the corrupt Law of Nations, God called and led forth Abraham and his seed :—that seed, I mean, which was afterwards to be faithful and hoping in God. It is the law of faith in God ; even a hope and assurance in God with well-grounded expectation, through Jesus Christ. Men of slender faith are in danger : by strong and well-grounded hope they are sustained.

We must here observe that Holy Scripture, and especially the New Testament, uses the word *faith* indiscriminately. For in one usage *faith* (*fides*) means “a substantiating and true fulfilling of promises and agreements ;”¹ so called because what is said is done (*fiat*), and what you have solemnly promised, is really performed. From faith in this sense, God is called faithful ; as in another passage 1 Cor. i. 9. of St. Paul : *God is faithful*.

In another usage faith means *belief*, and reposing of trust. For to *believe* (*credere*) is to have faith in what is said and done ; whence *credulous*, that is, readily believing, and *credulity*, a readiness in believing, and *credible*, likely to be believed.

¹ This definition, from Cic. *De Officiis*, I. 7, has been given before. See *ante*, p. 92.

Now to have faith, is to *trust*. *I trust* (*fido*) signifies *I believe, I place my hopes*. Its opposite is *I distrust* (*dif-fido*). From the word for *trust*—*fido*—comes *confidence* (*fidencia*), and *assurance* (*fiducia*), or tempered boldness: though at times this latter signifies rash daring.¹

In Holy Scripture, *faith* sometimes denotes an enlightened belief in God's truth: sometimes, and by far the most frequently, an assurance and hope in His power. Its opposite, in this last sense, is despair and abandonment of hope: a vice at all times abhorred by Christ; to whom faith, and strong hope, and assurance, was a thing so welcome, that He would have everything granted to it. In this sense He spoke, when He said: *If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed*—that is, great² and single faith. Or again: *thy faith hath saved thee*. Or: *I have not found so great faith; no not in Israel*. Or, once more, when, reproving His disciples, He said: *O ye of little faith*.

Matt. xvii.

19.

Mark x.

52.

Matt. viii.

10.

Ib. vi. 30.

By this faith believers are justified, that they may do good in charity. This is the law of faith, the law of God: who would have men trust only in Him, and confidently depend on Him alone; that He may save them that hope in Him. This assurance of righteousness and salvation we have through the fitting mediator, Jesus Christ. For a man to trust in himself, and cling for support to his own strength, is to fall. To believe in God, is to rise again. If believers imitate Christ Jesus, God will crown this righteousness.³ Such an assurance in God through Jesus was possessed by the patriarchs I spoke of, and by Abraham above all: but his sons fell away from the faith of their forefathers. In a more abundant outpouring of grace, God then sought to recall them by means of Moses; through

¹ Erasmus, in his *Annotaciones* on Rom. i. 17, makes very similar remarks:—"Jam et *fidem* et *fiduciam* dicimus in bonam partem . . . *confidentem* et *confidentiam* in malam partem. Verum his vocibus frequenter abutuntur sacræ literæ," etc.

² "Quod est modicum in quantitate, sed maximum in virtute."—De Lyra.

³ See note before, p. 125.

whom He ordained laws, to restrain and bridle their truant, carnal appetite. To those who should transgress His laws, He threatened death. And what was still wanting for perfection, whether as regards God or man, He shadowed forth in fair and spotless rites and ceremonies. Last of all came Jesus Himself, to perfect and complete, to enlighten and to finish. Through Him is man's redemption and finished justification.

But men were so weak and frail, so liable to fall in the slippery ways of their corrupt nature, that by the law they rather learnt their sinfulness, and perceived their tendency to ruin, than refrained from sins on account of it. The law was good and holy, but they were powerless. Though the law granted indulgence and permission in numberless ways, yet so great was their weakness, that none could avoid sinning.

Then they who, upborne in the clear Spirit of God, looked forth towards the Mediator that was to come, through whom they received the grace of God, and through whom countless more were to receive it in the future—for God said to Abraham, *Look toward heaven, and tell the stars, if thou be able : so shall thy seed be*—they, I say, greatly longed for Jesus ; through whom there had been conveyed to men from God that grace, which drew men to simple hope and assurance in God, and supported them in the law of faith. This was that Jesus, wisest expounder of the ancient law of Moses, Master of the Law divine.¹ He taught the law of faith, which is the law of the gospel, of grace, and of mercy ; the law of love and help, the law of enlightenment and perfection. This divine law is the law of grace, of faith, of Christ.

In this faith of the divine law and will, wise pontiffs of the Christian people have published many statutes and decrees ;² some retaining men in grace, others recalling them to it. These are called the *pontifical* and *canonical*

¹ Lat. *juris divini antistes*.—So *juris antistes* in Quintil. *Inst. Or.* xi. 1. 69.

² Referring to the *Decretum*, the *Decretalia*, &c. ; on the growth of which see Colquhoun's *Summary of the Roman Civil Law*, 1849, Pref. p. xiii.

law, from the fact of pontiffs having laid down (*posuerunt*) a rule of living unto life eternal; whence also it is called *positive*¹ law.

We may conclude then from the above, that all systems of law may be reduced to two only: the *divine*, or perfect, law; and the *human*, or corrupt. We may further divide the divine law into *rudimentary* and *complete*. The rudimentary was the Mosaic; the complete is the Christian, or evangelical; having included in it the canonical, which endeavours both to recall men and to retain them, when falling away from grace. This latter law desires the best, and forbids the worst: minor good actions it enjoins; to minor evils it is indulgent. This divine law, conveyed from God through Christ and the Church's masters to the Christian people, is our divine, spiritual, evangelical, gracious law; the law of all those who in God are begotten again as new men, renewed according to the new will of God; in whom *old things are passed away, and all things are become new*. 2 Cor. v. 17.

As there is *one God the Father, and one Master, Christ; one faith, one baptism, one church*; so ought there to be one law and right of living, even the divine canonical law, wherein is the rule of Christian life; wherein what ought to be done in all cases is enjoined, and what ought not to be done is forbidden. Eph. iv. 5. Matt. xxiii. 9.

But as for the Civil Laws of the old, corrupt man, they have nothing to do with the healthy state of Christians. Human reason is the enemy and opponent of grace. If men establish a law of their own, they are not subject to the law of God. So also the Municipal Law of this kingdom, a law made up of the absurd decisions of wrangling men, is scouted and exploded by the law of faith and charity. For if it were to gain strength, then the spiritual part of the church would have room for saying: *I find another law in* Rom. vii. 23.

¹ More generally, by *positive* law is understood all beyond the law of Nature.—“Quatenus pro lege sumitur (jus), vel *naturale* est, vel *positivum*.”—*Juris Canon. Instit.*, 1687, p. 10; where also the various subdivisions of divine and human *positive* law are given.

my members—my bodily members, that is,—*warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity.* The law of the realm endeavours to drag the church into captivity.¹ Among Christians, who are all sons of God, no other law is to be listened to, than the divine law which comes through our Saviour Christ. This is the evangelical law, which is charity; the fulfilling and perfecting of all law. In this law of charity, as time has gone on, the chief pontiffs, while wishing for what is best, have been indulgent to the weaker ones; have ordained good limits; have excommunicated transgressors, and those who are spiritually dead.

I suppose there is no one in the Church so without grace and strength, as not to be able to do something, and to retain himself in some degree of virtue. Imagine a circle, with Christ, who is perfect goodness, for its centre; the less good for its circumference; and beyond that, absolute evil. Christ wishes all to be as Himself: but He makes some relaxation for the weaker ones, and bids them stay at an indulgent boundary. Beyond this circumference, He prohibits and forbids. And hence the Church excommunicates transgressors; is satisfied with those who do not overstep the circumference of precepts; praises those who strive to reach the centre, Christ; admires those who are perfected in the very centre. Falling away from precept is a thing the Church cannot indulge; for this is sin. Within the limits of sin the Church has power to show indulgence, but not beyond; since the circumference of Christian grace and righteousness must neither be stretched nor broken.

We may therefore deduce this general rule, that the standard from which any one is permitted to decline, within

¹ It is interesting to compare with this expression of opinion, what Colet said afterwards in his Convocation Sermon; and also the part taken by his friend Kidderminster, Abbot of Winchcombe, in the contest about the immunity of the clergy, which followed the famous act on that subject passed in 1513. Both took their stand on the text, *nolite tangere christos meos*; but Colet, as it would seem, with far more moderation, and requirement of corresponding duties.—See Knight's *Life of Colet* (1823), pp. 263-4, and Burnet's *Reformation* (ed. 1679), p. 13.

the limits of what is enjoined, is not *precept*, but only *counsel*; ¹ and that every indulgence is not beyond, but within, the limits of precept. Indulgence is shown up to the verge of precept, but no further. Within the limits of precept, all is *counsel*; unless one has bound himself by a solemn vow within those confines. For to such a one *counsel* is *precept*. The outermost circumference of the Christian sphere is for the laity; and in this circumference are precepts. Whatever is within this circumference, in the direction of the centre, Christ, is *counsel* for the laity; unless they have bound themselves by vow to any special degree. Within the lay circumference again is the narrower circle of priests, wherein the sacerdotal precepts are fixed for observance. In this degree the priest has solemnly vowed to stand. And with this vow the Pope does not dispense, nor suffer any relapse from it: seeing that he cannot permit sin, and vows are enjoined to be in all cases observed. The Pope dispenses with *counsels*; not with vows, whether of priests or laymen. ²

✓ The uttermost circumference is *precept*. Between the centre and the circumference is *counsel* towards the better, and *indulgence* towards the worse. But those who accept counsels, and profess to observe them, are bound by their own voluntary acceptance of the law. And even though they may not have kept it, they are still none the less confined within the circumference of Christianity.

ALL laws may be reduced to these three:—the law of corrupt nature; the law of God which recalls to Christ; and the law

¹ The difference between these two, forms the subject of a long digression in the *Lectures on Corinthians*, p. 52, sqq.

² This statement seems to require modification. In respect of certain minor vows, all prelates have a dispensing power for those under their jurisdiction. Certain others, such as the vow of a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, are reserved to the Pope alone. Others again, such as that of continence, made by one entering a religious order, are considered to be beyond even his dispensing power. But this last point is disputed.—See Aquinas's *Summa*, *Sec. Secunda*, Qu. 88, Arts. 11, 12; and Liguori's *Theologia Moralis*, Lib. iv. § 256 (ed. 1845, vol. ii. p. 104).

of God which makes perfect in Christ. This last has both purified and healed nature, and also makes perfect the law of Moses. Wherefore Christians have now in Christ no other law, than this perfecting and spiritual law of grace; which excludes and banishes far away all corruption and imperfection.

So much about laws : but let us now return to the point from which we digressed.

Rom. iv. 13. Gal. iii. 17. *THE promise, that he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law.* For the law came four hundred years after. The promises of God had been made to the patriarch Abraham before either the law or circumcision, on account of his righteousness of faith and hope in God ; with which God was so well pleased, that He gave him many great promises. And that which God promised to Abraham, whom He had separated for Himself, was : that he should be great, and blessed, and all men should be blessed in him. He promised to him and his seed the land of Canaan, and a wide empire to endure for ever, and an offspring countless as the sand. *And I, He said, am thy exceeding great reward.* He promised him an heir, and offspring to the number of the stars ; dominion, and the possession of the earth. And because Abraham believed God in these promises, He promised further that he should be *a father of many nations* ; whence also He named him Abraham : and that He would be his God, and the God of his seed. He established moreover a covenant of circumcision, in the case of every male ; and would have this covenant and agreement to be ratified between Himself and Isaac, Sarah's son ; to the effect that every male infant should be circumcised on the eighth day.

Gen. xv. 1. Gen. xvii. 5. Gen. xviii. 1.

When God, One and yet Three, had appeared in the vale of Mamre, and Abraham set before Him *three measures of fine meal* for bread, and *butter and milk*, and a calf, as a threefold repast for the triune God ;¹ he was again told that Sarah should presently have a son : which afterwards came

¹ There is a like thought in Origen :—" Apponit ergo panes tribus

to pass. For in her old age she bare Isaac, whom his father circumcised the eighth day. And God, willing to make trial, in this son, of Abraham's faith and hope, commanded that he should be sacrificed on a mountain. But when He saw that Abraham was fully prepared to do this, being content with such reliance on Him, God swore by Himself that Abraham should be blessed, and multiplied to the number of the stars and of the sand of the sea; that he should have a countless offspring, both heavenly and earthly, both spiritual and carnal; and that, for the sake of his obedience, all nations should one day be blessed in his seed. This seed was the Christ that was to be.

Now this so great and liberal promise, *that he should be the heir of the world*, and that all nations should be blessed in him, *was not to Abraham, or to his seed, Isaac, through the law of Moses. For if they which are of the law be heirs*, on account of their observance of the law, and their keeping its commandments, *the promise of the faithful God is made of none effect.*—To make of none effect (*abolere*) signifies to blot out and utterly efface; so that not even any scent (*odor*) of it is left behind.¹—To what purpose were so many and great promises, preceding the law, if the promise of the inheritance is through the law? Nay more, if you view the matter aright, there could not be any promise through the law, because *the law worketh wrath*—that is, chastises and punishes sharply. But the earlier law of faith sweetly nourishes and cherishes, gently draws on and justifies. The law gave most stern commands to carnal men; placed bit and bridle upon them; reined in the unbridled; lashed, punished, killed the irreclaimable (such as were all the stiff-necked race of the Jews); and cut off delinquents without mercy. And therefore to them, weak and powerless to obey as they were, the law was nothing but angry punishing

Rom. iv.
13, 14.

ver. 15.

mensuris similaginis conspersos. *Tres viros suscepit; tribus mensuris similaginis panes conspersit.*—*In Gen. Homil. iv.*

¹ It will be seen, by a comparison of the Latin, that Colet has taken this definition word for word from the *Cornucopiæ* of Nicolaus Perottus (ed. 1496, f. 280):—"Aboleo, quod est, deleo ac prorsus oblitto; ut ne odor quidem ejus relinquatur."

and severe chastising. It sought to repress and restrain beings who, by reason of the exceeding weakness of their nature, could not but fall, and had no power to avoid transgressing. The law was a chastising of boys, a restraining of beasts, a bridling of the brute-like appetite. This performed not the promises of God, but rather abolished them. For the recalling men to God's promises, which are for the faithful, did but cast down and destroy the unfit and incompetent.

The law came in terror, as a scourge of God. And the same may be said in these days of our pontifical law, which men practise and administer judicially. For the practitioners of our time hurry defaulters away to justice on the instant; making them feel the force of justice rather than its grace. Methinks it were a more equitable proceeding, if those who are called *Doctors* (i. e. *Teachers*), would teach men the rules and regulations of life, in accordance with what their name implies, before scourging them for deviating therefrom; and show themselves merciful teachers, both in pattern and precept, before punishing them so severely.¹ In the ways of God, mercy ever preceded judgment; and kindly teaching, the lash. For men to keep the law, they must needs know the law: otherwise the law is not a mistress of virtue, but a treacherous net of iniquity. For where there is no law, prescribing and defining, checking and restraining, and setting bounds which may not be transgressed; there is there no *prevarication*—that is, transgression.

THE word *prevaricator*² is derived from *varicare*, that is, to transgress; as if it were *varicator*. It denotes any one

¹ It was one of the complaints in the *Petition of the Commons* (1529), that neither "your said humble subjects ne their predecessors could ever be privy to the said laws; ne any of the said laws have been declared unto them in the English tongue, or otherwise published; by knowledge whereof they might have eschewed the penalties, dangers, or censures of the same."—Quoted in Froude's *Hist. of Engl.* I. p. 191.

² See note before, p. 81.

who swerves and wanders away from the prescribed limits of his duty ; whether he does so through ignorance or carelessness. Hence *prevarication* is really a *transgression* of duty and of law.

BEFORE limits had been fixed, there was no transgression. While there was no barrier of law, there was a widespread outflow and escapement ; every one thinking that what pleased him was lawful. But when there was a law given to restrain men, then began transgression unto death ; with wrath and judgment and annulling of promises for the transgressors.

We may conclude then that the promises of God to Abraham were *through the righteousness of faith* and of belief. He who has placed all his hope in God, is righteous. Therefore it is the *heirs by faith* that are the children of ver. 16. Abraham, because they so trusted in God : to the end that *according to justifying grace* (not according to avenging wrath in the law, but according to the grace of God)—*the promise might be sure to all the seed*, and what God had said to Abraham might be performed ; not to men in terror under the law, but to the subjects of grace in joy ; not to men who refrain from evil through fear of punishment, but to men who do good from love of glory.

The menacing law struck terror into men by its incessant threats and denunciations ; and under it they became ever more and more unhappy. But from the time when gentle, beneficent grace shone upon them through Jesus Christ, those who hoped in God were justified, and made partakers of the ancient promises. For these promises were given not ver. 16. *to that only which is of the law*—namely, those to whom the law is given—but *to that also which is of the faith of Abraham*—to those who trust in God in like manner with Abraham—who is the father of us all, both Jews and Gentiles : a father to be imitated in his faith by all alike ; a father who is a parent and progenitor of faith ; a father, on account of the pattern of faith set forth in him, of all persons whatsoever that believe and trust in God.

As it is written—in the writing of the Scriptures.—In ver. 17.

these days men quote the Scriptures by chapter, as though they would put their finger on every passage.¹ They have misgivings forsooth as to what people would think of them, did they not do so: utterly inappropriate as their quotations are, to persons who have not even heard of the very name of Scripture. But he who is conscious of his own learning, fearlessly says, like St. Paul, no more than *it is written*, or *as saith the Scripture*.

Gen. xvii.
4.

I have made thee a father of many nations.—This is written in the Book of Genesis. Hence it was that Abram was called, by a longer name, Abraham.—*Before God*:—these are St. Paul's words, in explanation of what preceded. *Before God*, he says (not before men), *whom thou believedst*, and on account of thy belief and trust in God; *who quickeneth the dead*, and makes men believers instead of unbelievers:—

Matt. iii. 9.

for God is able, out of stones, to make children of Abraham:—*and calleth those things which be not, as though they were*. *Those which be not* denotes the Gentiles: those which be, the Jews.² God can make the vile, honourable.

Ps. cxiii.
7, 8.

For, as David sang, *He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth the needy out of the dunghill, and setteth him with the princes of his people*.

Rom. iv.
18.

Who against hope (it being an incredible thing that an old man, advanced in years, should beget a son), *yet believed the word and promise of God in hope*; expecting that what was promised would come to pass, namely, *that he should become the father of many nations*—both in the *flesh*, since the numerous offspring of the Jews issued from the seed of Abraham; and in the *spirit*, seeing that he stood forth as a pattern of faith for men's imitation: so that all faithful ones in after time, from their resemblance in point of faith, might be called *children of Abraham*. *According to that which was spoken to him by God: So shall thy seed be*;—namely as the stars of heaven, and the sand of the sea.—The meaning of this was: Thou shalt have a double seed, spi-

¹ See note above, p. 63.

² This is Origen's explanation:—"Eodem ordine in hoc loco dicit et de his, quæ non sunt, ut ea, quæ sunt, destruat; et non esse Gentes, esse autem Judæos ostendit."—*In Ep. ad Rom. Comment. iv. 5.*

ritual and carnal. The latter shall be as the sand of the sea, overwhelmed in sins; but the former as the stars of heaven, shining in the grace of faith.

*And he was not weak in faith:—*he did not despair, or ver. 19. fall from hope: *neither did he consider his own body now dead, dry, and barren with age, when he was now almost an hundred years old.*—He numbered ninety-nine years, when the promise was made to him.—And he considered not *the deadness of Sarah's womb*, now barren and unfruitful. He did not reason with himself in distrust, but rested with simple faith in God.

Reason and enquiry savour somewhat of despair;¹ but simple faith, immovable and serene, towers calmly above the unsettled atmosphere of reason.

He staggered not also at the promise of God through dis- ver. 20. *trust,—that is, despair—nor wavered in doubt, but was made strong in faith,—that is, in confidence and hope—believing confidently in God.*—Here notice, that despair is weakness of mind, while hope is strength.—*Giving glory to God, on the score of the promises. Being fully persuaded,* ver. 21. *and undoubtingly believing, that what God had promised, he was able also to perform. And therefore such stedfast* ver. 22. *hope and confidence in God was imputed to him for righteousness; and in this alone he was counted righteous; namely, in his upright and unshaken confidence: a thing of all others most acceptable to God. This is the faith so urgently required by Jesus in the Gospels.*

Now such great praise for trusting in God was not written ver. 23. *for his sake—that is, Abraham's—alone. Not for his sake alone, I say, was it written that his singular belief was imputed to him for righteousness, but for us also; that by* ver. 24. *his example we may walk in his steps, and be counted righteous in respect of faith: to whom our faith shall be imputed unto righteousness, if we believe on him that raised*

¹ In the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 44, Colet speaks in similar language of “this low, erring, and unquiet reason, never finding a spot wherein to rest;” and contrasts it with “certain, undoubting, and steadfast faith.”

up *Jesus Christ our Lord from the dead*—if we trust, that is, in God the Father, the raiser again of the dead. Which
 ver. 25. Christ was delivered for our offences; that in dying He might kill our death, by the surpassing power of His own: and rose again for our justification, that we may rise again to oneness of life with Him. This is the reason why in baptism we are dipped, and come forth again from the water.¹ And in the statutes of the Church it is directed that a person should be dipped, and come forth again: otherwise he is not baptized.

CHAPTER V.

FROM what has gone before St. Paul concludes, that
 ver. 1. Jews and Greeks (that is, Gentiles), between whom there were disputes, ought now to agree in peace, as being justified by faith; and, in keeping with their righteousness of faith and of trust in God, ought to hope for the glory of the sons of God; being patient in many things, that they may be approved. He says, moreover, that the hope of the justified ones will not be false or deceptive; seeing that God, who was gracious to undeserving sinners, and to His enemies, will be much more gracious to them, when now justified and His friends. Those whom He justified as sinners, He will of necessity also glorify as righteous. Wherefore we must glory in hope of the good, and endurance of the evil; and this too through Jesus Christ.

¹ See note above, p. 114.—It will be seen from what follows that Colet regarded immersion as essential to Baptism, and for the same reason as is given in the *Apostolical Constitutions* (iii. 17), "*Demersio significat quod commorimur: emersio quod resurgimus.*" How completely this was the practice of the early Church may be gathered from Bingham, *Antiqq.* bk. xi. c. 11. Aquinas decided that a triple immersion was not necessary (*Summa*, Pars iii. Qu. 66, Art. 8); while the Council of Trent pronounced immersion to be only one of three equally valid methods; affusion and sprinkling being the other two.—*Catechismus*, Pars ii. Cap. 2, § 17.—See also the *Decretum*, Pars iii. Dist. iv. cap. 85.

For in Him by suffering we conquer evils here, and by hoping shall attain blessings in heaven hereafter. For as sin and death came through Adam, so grace and life came from Jesus.

There is a likeness between the two in many ways: seeing that, as sin came from one Adam unto death; so grace comes from one Christ unto life. But there is this difference between the gift and the fault: namely, that, however much sin grew unto death, so much the more did grace grow unto life; that more abundant and more powerful grace might overcome death. For grace, which came through Jesus, was greater and more manifold than sin. And therefore, being now justified by grace, men may have more hope of life therefrom, than they had fear of death from their sins. God, who loved men while sinners, loves them much more when righteous. The grace, so abundantly poured forth, quickens far more than sin killed:—the grace, I say, not of a dying Christ (though that did mightily redeem us), but of a Christ now living. But yet, in truth, as death was poured forth, and all drank of the deadly draught in which the one man, Adam, pledged them; so was the more copious stream of life poured over it through Jesus, that all might drink their fill of the water of life. And though the likeness is great between these two rivers, thus running in opposite ways; yet the one with more swelling stream, like a torrent, flowing on to overpower the dark river of death, is the fair river of grace; *the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God.* Ps. xlv. 4.

In this Chapter St. Paul implies that there had been poured forth most abundantly upon men the love of God through Jesus Christ. For He by dying destroyed our death; and afterwards, by His life, has quickened us, and made us acceptable to God. The vessels of our hearts He has filled with the wine of divine grace; our stubborn minds He has softened with the oil of mercy.¹ This abundant

✓ ¹ The mention of oil and wine in connection seems to point to the parable of the Good Samaritan, Luke x. 34: though there the *wine* is generally understood, metaphorically, of God's *judgment*; the *oil*, of His

grace, so abundantly poured forth, is called by St. Paul at one time *the gift*, at another, the *bestowal*; as also, *obedience—righteousness—justification*. This grace is men's life. It is our kingdom also; whereby we reign in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, who now reigns in heaven. He benefited men, as mortal and dying: much more so, when now alive and immortal. In baptism we die in Him dying, with a death of our own; that hereafter we may live in Him living, with a life that is His. For He lived after death, that we may live in righteousness after sin.

Through the sin and disobedience of the first Adam, sin, bondage, and death stole in and seized upon the human race, as far as to *Moses*, without being detected. Down to this point, the law of our corrupt nature was in force. But when the law was given to Moses, sin abounded yet more by reason of the greater grievousness of sin. Last of all came the yet greater grace, to swallow up the increased sin.

These three stand thus in order: Adam, Moses, Jesus. They were the bringers in of three things—sin, chastisement, grace; and the authors and establishers of three laws—the law of sin, the law of carnal works, the law of spiritual righteousness. The law of Moses came midway between sin and grace. It enjoined some good: it permitted some evil on the ground of weakness: it shadowed forth among men that remaining portion of righteousness, which it had failed to attain.

Weakness, disobedience, transgression; the upgrowth and reign of sin; judgment, condemnation, death:—these were what came forth from a small beginning; from the one sin of the one Adam. As sin grew and enlarged itself, it became needful for the fount of mercy to open its mouth and enlarge itself also; that it might scatter a more copious shower of grace. Thus it was that the source whence death

mercy. Thus, in one of the Sermons (*De Nativ. Dom.*), commonly bound up with St. Bernard's Works (*Op.* ed. 1620, p. 1665, E.), "Sed multum olei, parum vini. Multum misericordiæ, justitiæ parum."—But in some of the mystical interpretations of the *vineyards of En-gedi*, Cant. I. 14, the wine is taken as a figure of God's grace. See the *Sylva Allegoriarum* (1570), f. 668.

issued was strait; but that whence grace issued, capacious. For God enlarged the bounds of His love, that the coming of grace through the one, Jesus, might do away with the enlarged sin. In many and manifold ways was sin propagated from the one first sin. But when the whole world was overrun by sins, there was most capacious and powerful grace, to take and conquer sin. Hence, while death came from a single sin, life came from manifold grace. For we are made sick more easily than we are made well. The medicine has to be more powerful than the disease. And thus a difference is apparent between Adam and Christ; inasmuch as, while death came upon all through the one man, Adam, from a single sin; on the other hand, life came through the one Man, Christ, from manifold grace. In like manner, sin came when there was only a single sinner; but grace came, when there were many sinners. For in the fulness of sin grace came with much more fulness.

This latter is the perfect law of grace; abolishing the law of sin unto death, and perfecting the law of Moses, which only killed when it sought to heal.

BEING justified by faith and trust in God through Christ, Rom. v. 1.
with faithful Abraham:—since faith justifies, and God Gal. iii. 9.
 bestows all things on the righteous through Jesus; whilst to the distrustful and sinners there is nothing granted. It is from this hope and confidence in God that Christians are called faithful. Others trust in their own strength, that is, in their own weakness; but Christians only in God. But alas! despairing of the divine assistance, we sink back to trusting in ourselves, and do but fall in our weakness: and hence God's wrath against us.—*Let us have peace with God*, with whom in our unbelief we waged war. *Through* Luke ii.
*Jesus there is on earth peace to men of good will.*¹ God 14.
 loves those who hope humbly in Him. By hope we stand,

¹ Lat. *hominibus bonæ voluntatis*. This is still followed in the Rhemish version.—For the way in which an attempt to restore the right reading was received, see the *Dialogus novus et mire festivus*, leaf K. 2, appended to the *Epistolæ Obscur. Virorum*, 1557.

by despair we fall. When the paralytic was brought to
 Matt. ix. 2. Jesus, it is written: *Jesus, seeing their faith &c.; said, Son, be of good cheer; that is, set thine hope on God: for from Him are all things to all men, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who brought this message to us, the mediator between God and man. He is God's right hand: in Him and through Him God does all things.*

Rom. v. 2. *By whom*—namely, Jesus, God and Man—we have access—that is, we approach (by following Jesus in our lives, who said to those whom He called, *Follow me*)—*by faith* and simple confidence, *into this grace*, most liberally infused into the followers of Christ. *In which grace we stand* by hoping, *and rejoice in hope of the glory*—in expectation of the everlasting light—*of the new-begotten sons of God.* He is our most affectionate Father, and we are His obedient children; whose righteousness is faith in God and a following of Christ. They who are in this way held righteous through Christ, may glory in God.

And not only may we glory in hope of the good to come after this life, but also in the endurance of evil while we are living here; which renders our hope approved:—and this too through Jesus Christ, through whom we are reconciled to God—seeing that the way to life is through many tribulations. For in our flight from the Egypt of this world, we are pursued in the rear by Pharaoh, that is, by the Prince of this world, with his hostile army. But he will be himself overwhelmed by the waters of his own sins; while the children of Israel, escaped from his grasp, and on the other side of the baptismal flood, will raise the strain:—

Ex. xv. 1. *Let us sing unto the Lord gloriously.*¹ Hence there follows:

Rom. v. 8. *And not only do we rejoice in hope of the glory, but we glory*

¹ In the Vulgate, *Cantemus Domino gloriose enim magnificatus est:*—where it is plain that *gloriose* belongs to what follows. How Colet came to connect the words as he has done is hard to see: unless the truth be that an *etc.* has been dropped by the copyer after *gloriose*; and that he meant to read the verse in the usual manner, merely cutting short the quotation with an *etc.*: in which very form, in fact, a similar moralizing of the passage ends in the *Glossa Ordinaria*.

in tribulations—that is, vexations—also; hoping in God through Jesus. For *blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake*, and which put their hope in God. Matt. v. 10.

There are two characteristics of Christian fortitude: hope of good, and endurance of evil. While the Christian is journeying and acting well unto life, he must needs endure and sustain the tribulations that follow him in the rear, and would fain call him back. Opposites are here compared with opposites: glory with disgrace, joy with sorrow, life with death.

Knowing that tribulation—that is, vexation, disturbance, annoyance, distraction on this side and that; the earthly misery by which the way to happiness lies—*worketh patience*, that is, endurance of ills. By being inured to ills, the Christian at length becomes patient: patience is his fortitude and victory. *And patience, approval*.—He Rom. v. 4. who is constant in enduring, is proved, like gold in the fire.

Like *gold in the furnace*, so is the righteous man in this world of temptations.¹ *And approval, hope*. He who is proved in the fire of temptation, may well and safely hope. He is gold, meet for God's heavenly temple. Wisd. iii. 6.

In this unhappy world, much trouble is at all times good for the good. For it purges away vices, makes proof of virtue, trains the brave-hearted to greater praise and glory, embitters the false sweetness of the world, arouses a longing for heavenly things, and makes us like to Jesus Christ, in this world buffeted by every temptation. So also is it a good thing for the evil. For it either recalls them from the evil, or withholds them from some greater one, or justly punishes them, to save them from being punished in hell. Therefore did St. James write: *My brethren, count it all joy, when ye fall into divers temptations; because the trying of your faith worketh patience: and patience hath a perfect work; that ye may be perfect and entire, wanting in nothing.* James i. 2-4.

¹ "Nam ut igne aurum, ita ignea temptatione probatur aureus Christianus."—Gale MS. "O. 4. 44," on 1 Pet. i. 7.—See also the *Lectures on I. Cor.* p. 30.

Rom. v. 5. *And hope maketh not ashamed nor deceiveth—even this hope and trust in God—because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts. God has loved us; has pitied us; has poured forth His grace bountifully upon us; has filled the vessels of our hearts with the streams of His grace.—By the Holy Ghost, and His holy inspiration, which is given unto us, we are partakers of the Divine Spirit, and of the sweet breathing of God. Since He loves us, He has breathed upon us with His fragrant breath.*

The word *Spirit* properly means *breath* or *wind*. And this is a sacrament of the divine inspiration; for it was with a *rushing mighty wind* that Christ came down into the minds of the disciples. This unutterable breathing of God and Christ, this spirit of life, is to our souls, as the air we breathe is to our bodies. For our souls breathe and respire¹ in the clear spirit of God.

ver. 6. *For why did Christ, when as yet we were weak, according to the time,² die for the ungodly?—as though to say, Whence came it? for what reason, other than exceeding love? Now Christ died for men, when as yet they were weak, frail, and sinful, according to the time. Our times are discriminated in respect of weakness and health. It was in our state of disease, in the fulness of sin, that Christ came. And hence*
 ver. 7. *He died for the most ungodly. For scarcely for a righteous man will one die; much less for an ungodly man. And though peradventure for a good and righteous man some would even dare to die, as may at times befall, yet who would die for the most ungodly? Why truly it cannot be said that any one, except Christ, ever died for the ungodly.*

¹ Lat. *spirant et respirant*.—The identity of words cannot be preserved in the English; any more than it is in our version of John iii. 8, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*.

² This is the marginal reading in the English Version for *in due time*. The wording of the Vulgate, *quoniam cum adhuc peccatores essemus secundum tempus Christus pro nobis mortuus est*, leaves it doubtful with which clause *secundum tempus* ought to be taken. Faber Stapulensis connects the words with what follows, as in our version: Dionysius Carthusianus, with what precedes; as Colet does. Erasmus discusses the twofold reading, without expressing any decision, further than that "*utraque lectio sensum habet pium*."

But God the Father commendeth—that is, rendered com- ver. 8.
mendable, praiseworthy, and wonderful—*his love toward us,*
His children, His simple doves, *in that, while we were yet*
sinners, according to the time, and had not ceased from our
sins, but only added sin to sin, *Christ, our Redeemer, died*
for us, that we might live by His holy and powerful death.
He stayed our hurried course towards death.

The death of the righteous is an expiation of sins.
A sinner dies for himself; a righteous man for others. The
sinner's death is weak and shameful; and hence the death
of sinners is the worst kind of death. But the righteous
man's death is holy and prevailing; whence it is written:
right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. Ps. cxvi.
Holy deaths, and God-pleasing sacrifices for others, had 13.
their beginning in Christ. Every one is redeemed by
death. Men ought to be ready at once to die a holy
death for one another; but no one for himself: for a sin-
ner's death is no redemption, but only the penalty of sin.
The holiest of all deaths, even Christ's, which is hallowing as
well as holy, wrought the fullest redemption; and other
deaths of saints work redemption in His death.

Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall Rom. v. 9.
be saved from wrath through him: because, after justifying
sinners by His death, He will also save them when justified,
by His life. *For if, when we were enemies, we were recon-* ver. 10.
ciled to God by a holy sacrifice, by the death of his Son;
much more, being now reconciled, we shall be saved by his life:
—His life, I say, who now liveth at the right hand of God
the Father, in glory everlasting. He died for sinners; but
He lives for the righteous. Life is mightier than death.
If, as sinners, we reaped such fruit in a dying Redeemer,
how much more shall we reap, as righteous, in a living
one?

{ LIFE for the righteous :—He lives for the righteous.
{ DEATH for sinners :—He died for sinners.

AND not only may we, as righteous, hopefully rejoice in God, ver. 11.
when in tribulation; but we may also rejoice in God through
our Lord Jesus Christ. He is the mediator between God

and men; and through Him all things come from God to us, and return from us to God. *By whom*—through which Jesus Christ as the mean—we have received the atonement, being now reconciled by His death. As man was estranged from God through Adam, whose will it was to live as God; so man was reconciled to God through Jesus, God incarnate, who willed to die as man. *Wherefore, as by one man came sin; so (that is, by one man) came grace.*¹ And *as by one man, Adam, sin first entered into the world, and death by sin; so (that is, by one man, Christ) grace entered into the world, and eternal life through grace. And so death passed—that is, followed, or spread—upon all men, for that all have sinned.*²

As the whole tree is in the root,³ or the whole man in the seed; so the entire human race was in Adam: and in him all our nature sinned unto death.

ver. 13. *For until the law sin was in the world.* The fruit of our weak and corrupt nature was in this pestilential valley, though unseen by men in their blindness. Being in darkness, they saw not their transgressions. *Sin was not imputed, nor acknowledged, when there was no law* forbidding it. Such was man's blindness previous to the law, that he thought it lawful for him to do whatever he pleased.

ver. 14. *Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, throughout almost all nature; with the exception of the few distinguished ones, who used to do sacrifice, and walk with God: even over them that had not sinned.*—They also were

¹ It will be noticed that the sentence is not completed in ver. 12, there being nothing to answer to the word *as*, in *as by one man*, &c. The common explanation is, that the sentence is again taken up and completed in ver. 18, after a long parenthesis. Erasmus suggests various ways of making the sense in ver. 12 complete in itself, and Colet's object is the same in this expansion of it.

² The Vulgate has *in quo omnes peccaverunt*,—*in whom all have sinned*; referring to Adam. This explains the next paragraph in the text.—The reading *in quo* should be carefully remarked, as much was built upon it in the arguments about original sin; though, as Erasmus shows in his long and very characteristic note on the passage, it is neither an exact rendering of the Greek, nor unambiguous in itself.

³ See the *Treatise on the Sacraments*, p. 74, n.

accounted righteous: Adam, Enos,¹ Enoch, Noah, Shem, Melchisedech, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob: though all that had lived besides them were under the ban of original sin, *after the similitude of Adam's transgression*. They were like Adam in this respect, as having drawn their origin from that corrupted stock.²—*Who was the figure of him that was to come*—that is, of the whole human race sprung from him.

By his being a corrupt *figure* of the sinners that were to come, is meant that, such as was Adam, such were all the men to be descended from him. Some, however, understand it to mean, that Adam was a type of *the Christ that was to be*:³ a progenitor of sin, as Christ was of grace. But I am better satisfied with the other interpretation; namely, that Adam was a corrupt type for all his progeny. I understand St. Paul to have meant to say, that the offspring would resemble their first parent in his tainted nature; and that, such as was Adam, such would all the rest of mankind in succession be: for in him all sinned.

But not as the offence, so also is the free gift. The offence ver. 15.
of Adam was unto death; the gift and grace of Jesus are unto life. And these two both correspond and differ. They correspond in this respect: namely, that *offence* has the same relation to *death*, as *grace* has to *life*; each being a cause, of death and life respectively. But they differ in this: that grace is a truer and mightier thing for justification, than sin is for *mortification*. And if sin *mortified*, much more, of

¹ See note above, p. 120.

² It will be observed that Colet connects the clause *after the similitude* &c., not with *them that had not sinned*, but with the preceding words *death reigned* &c. Erasmus, in his *Annotationes* mentions this as one of several constructions:—"Posterior sensus est, mortem regnasse et in eos qui non peccassent; regnasse autem, non ob ipsorum commissæ, sed in *similitudine prævaricationis Adæ*,—hoc est, perinde quasi et ipsi prævaricati fuissent quemadmodum Adæ."

³ Erasmus takes this view, in his *Annotationes*: "*Figura seu typus futuri*, hoc est, venturi Christi."—Origen had done the same, though with a mixture of other interpretations: "*Igitur non sine profunda arte dicendi Apostolus formam Christi esse Adam posuit, quæ sit per genus similis, per formam contraria.*"—*Comment. in loc.*

necessity, will grace *quicken*. God is mightier than the devil, and His grace has a wider reach than sin.¹ On which account, though there is a correspondence, yet there is a difference also, between the two.

For if through the offence of one—Adam—many died :— if the offence of the one increased to the death of the multitude, and the corruptness of the root, thus starting from one, penetrated to the branches.—By the word *many* the Apostle means *all*. He uses indifferently the words *many*, *more*, and *all*; meaning all collectively, excepting the one unit which is the beginning of multitude.² All beyond one is many.—*Much more the grace of God the Father, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.*

St. Paul would say that, if the sin of man works death through the one, Adam; much more will the grace of God work life, through the one, Jesus. And he alleges this, to convince us that our hope of life in grace ought to be greater than our fear of death through sin; inasmuch as, however powerful a thing sin is for death, grace is much more powerful for life. The positive is stronger than the negative. Grace from God is mightier for life, than sin from man for death. If sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that great sin might be overcome by far greater grace.

HERE do I,³ poor wretch, overwhelmed by the consciousness of my many and great offences, find in this grace matter to raise great hope. I know and confess that I have sinned grievously; and I stagger under the recollection of these

¹ For the similarity between this and a passage in the Gale MS. "O. 4. 44.," see the *Lectures on Romans*, p. 231.

² This is a reminiscence of the *Parmenides* 153, B: "*Unum ergo primum factum est omnium, quæ numerum capiunt*;" the same thought appearing afterwards in Dionysius, *Div. Nom.* v. 6: "*Siquidem in unitate omnis numerus uniformiter præexistit*;" and still later in Dante, *Paradiso*, Cant. xv.: "*E'en as all numbers ray from unity.*"

Erasmus makes a like remark with Colet on the indiscriminate use of *multi*, *plures*, *omnes*, in his note on Rom. v. 14.

³ Compare with this the like apostrophe, *ante*, p. 127.

my sins. But I am aroused to hope by what is here written—yea, for the very purpose of kindling hope—by the great Apostle; namely, that grace overcomes sin, and that fear ought to give way to humble hope.

AND not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift.—St. Paul ver. 16. is setting down, as I think, another mark of difference between *sin* and *grace* (here called *gift*), in respect of their way of proceeding. Both sin and grace have come to the multitude of mankind: but sin came at man's first origin; grace, after men had become multiplied. The river of grace and the river of sin flow in opposite directions to encounter one another. For sin comes from the one to the many; grace from the many to the one. Sin had its beginning in the root of the human stock; grace, in the multiplied branches: for in its largeness it takes in all. Sin grew and spread from one centre to the farthest circumference; but grace enclosed it with yet wider span, reaching back even to the one. For all alike were redeemed by grace, though all were not called by it, nor all the called justified. *For the judgment came of one unto condemnation*:—condemnation began with the one. But justification proceeded from manifold grace, seeing that there were very many sinners. From a narrow source sin advanced to destruction: from a wide source grace flowed forth unto life. Therefore the Apostle adds: *but the free gift is of many offences unto justification*. When the offenders were many, grace came; that it might take in and justify many. *For if by the offence* ver. 17. *of the one*—that is, by oneness of offence, and from one offence—*death reigned through the one*, even Adam;—if the reign of death increased from the one offence;—*much more shall they which receive abundance of grace*—that is, the manifold store of grace—and *of the gift, and of righteousness*, which every one has by the gift of God, *reign in life through the one, Jesus Christ*; through whom we have manifold and great grace.

Therefore as through the offence of the one—Adam, (we ver. 18. say that the issue was) *unto all men to condemnation*; even so *through the righteousness of the one*, the issue was *unto all*

men to justification of life. The justification of all men is
 ver. 19. through the justifying righteousness of Jesus Christ. *For as through the disobedience of the one—Adam—the many were made sinners:—by the word many he means all—so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous. The many, that is, all who will: because grace is, both in itself, and in its effects, greater and more manifold than sin.*

Grace is to sin, as the circumference to the centre. For grace is the wider, more powerful, and more efficacious of the two. And though sin grew to a great height, yet grace outstripped it, soaring like light above the darkness. Though the darkness of earth be great and wide, yet the light of heaven is still wider and more diffused; and at the approach of it the darkness instantly disappears and vanishes away.

ver. 20. *Moreover the law entered, that the offence might abound.* From Adam to Moses the offence grew and increased daily more and more. Adam was a type of this transgression to
 ver. 14. be hereafter :—*the figure*, as St. Paul says, *of him that was to come.* But when the law was given through Moses to restrain transgressions, the offence abounded by reason of transgression, and sin was yet more sinful. For when bounds had been fixed which it was unlawful to transgress, sin was detected, and (in St. Paul's words) *imputed*. Yet
 ver. 13. for all that, feeble men, unable to avoid sinning, sinned the more grievously, inasmuch as they did so the more wittingly and advisedly. Where there was no law, there was no transgression. But when men sinned after the giving of the law, they were detected as transgressors of the precept and command of God.

Here we may own that, just as weakly persons are better for not attempting to take physic, if they cannot swallow it; so in like manner sinners are better without laws, if through weakness and ignorance they cannot do well. For with such persons *the law enters that sin may abound.* Not indeed, that such was the reason, and end of the law's entering; for the law was good, and was given to restrain men from sinning: but greater sin followed, *against* the design and intention of the law.

The conjunction *that (ut)* in this place, as often elsewhere in Holy Scripture, is used not so much to denote cause, as consequence.

Man's sickness was but the greater under the law; and sin, like a wild beast curbed, did but chafe the more. The more any bad passion is checked, the more does it strive to break loose. Our evil nature is ever chafing against the bit; our corrupt license disowning bounds.

But where sin abounded, both in reality, and in plain and obvious appearance—transgressions everywhere existing, and the disease being increased, to man's greater and swifter destruction:—*grace did of necessity much more abound*, as a medicine that was to remove the sin, and justify mankind. *That, as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign* ver. 21. *through righteousness* (of which grace is the cause), *by Jesus Christ our Lord*. He is the messenger, the middle way, the mean interposed between God and men in all things. Through Him and through His type of living *we have access* unto God. He was the *figure* of the Church that was to be. When we say that men will be saved through Christ, we mean, through faith in Him, and through His type of living.

The reign of sin is the basest and foulest slavery, and the wages of it, death. But the service of grace in righteousness is the most glorious reign, and the wages of it, eternal life. Now *grace did much more abound*, that we might leave the service of sin unto death; and reign through grace in righteousness *unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord*.

And thus we are taught by St. Paul in the present chapter to have all our hope of salvation placed in God alone; in good hope to endure evil; while enduring evil, to hope in God with a single eye: and this too through Jesus our mediator, and through His type of living, the example for all to imitate. He freed us, in His Father's name, from bondage: He accomplished everything. As lust, sin, and death come from the Devil; so grace, righteousness, and life come from Christ. He wrought that in us, which neither nature nor the law could have done. For our nature was corrupt, and not strong enough for the law;

1 John ii.
16.

but grace purified and strengthened nature ; dispelling that corrupting *law of nature*, which is but *the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life* ; and accomplishing in us what the law essayed to do :—in those, I mean, who are made acceptable to God through Jesus.

MAN fell below nature : the law . . . ¹ above nature and above himself in God along with Jesus Christ. The law of nature is a law beneath man ; the law of Moses is a law on the level of man ; the law of grace is a law above man. But, without the co-operation of grace, the efforts of all law are baffled and vain.

How I wish that the ministers of ecclesiastical affairs, and those who call themselves expounders of pontifical law, would understand that, without the grace of Christ, they in vain administer laws for Christ's people. How I wish and wish again, that they would be ministers of grace to the common people ; teaching them plainly and gently, by precept and example, before so harshly and sternly smiting them in their ignorance with legal decisions. For the poor Christian folk who pay the penalties of the law, are made to feel its sanguinary force, before they understand its meaning.² But your Doctors of the law,—as they like to be called, though they are the last to *teach* the law—have no pleasure in instruction of that kind. This most honourable office they leave to the kindly professors of divinity. Rather in sooth should they be styled Torturers³ and tormentors of men. For all that they heed is, where they may punish with the law's scourges, and wound with its knife, so as to drain the golden blood of the laity. This they so eagerly thirst for, that one might suppose they held their title and profession—their title of lawyers and profession of jurisprudence—for no other purpose, than, like bloodsuckers, to render men

¹ Lat. "*lex re . . . indicavit supra naturam*," etc.—There is here a blank space in the MS. Can the word have been *redintegravit* ?

² See note above, p. 144.

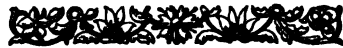
³ The point of the antithesis—*Doctores, Tortores*—is almost lost in an English version.

bloodless and penniless by never-ending pecuniary fines; themselves the meanwhile all swollen with thefts and robberies.

Atrocious race of men! deadliest plague to the Church of Christ! very devils, transformed into angels of light! in this respect worse than even the devils themselves, and more hurtful to Christian people; seeing that, on account of the position they falsely hold in the Church, none can openly despise them with safety; but every one must put his neck beneath their sword:—the sword of bad example, the sword of pecuniary fines and extortion. O! hardship beyond all hardships, when the poor folk that bear the name of Christ, are in worse plight than the Jewish commonalty were under the hypocritical Pharisees.

How much more justly and becomingly would the practitioners of our day be acting,—these adepts in the law, these reciters of formulas, and watchers for syllables;¹ ever spinning their toils, ensnaring the unwary, extorting monies, heaping together riches:—if they would forsake their craftiness and insatiable greed, and, mindful of Christ and of His Church, first learn what they are to teach, and then teach what they have learnt: if they would keep the law themselves, before punishing transgressors: if they would make men understand the law, before punishing them for not being apprised of it: if they would incite others to follow them, by being good and blameless observers of the law themselves; before so chastising men for not following, that you would think their punishment was for malice, not ignorance. Aye, and in their rebukes, they would be acting the part of worthy lawyers, did they but proceed with holy and clean hands; grieving that there should be any cause for punishment; and inflicting punishment at last only for that honourable end, to be desired of all men, the amending of our evil ways.

¹ This is an evident reminiscence of Cic. *De Oratore*, I. 55,—“... leguleius quidam cautus et acutus, præco actionum, cantor formularum, suceps syllabarum.” Hence we might have expected *aucupantur*, rather than *observant*, in the Latin text.

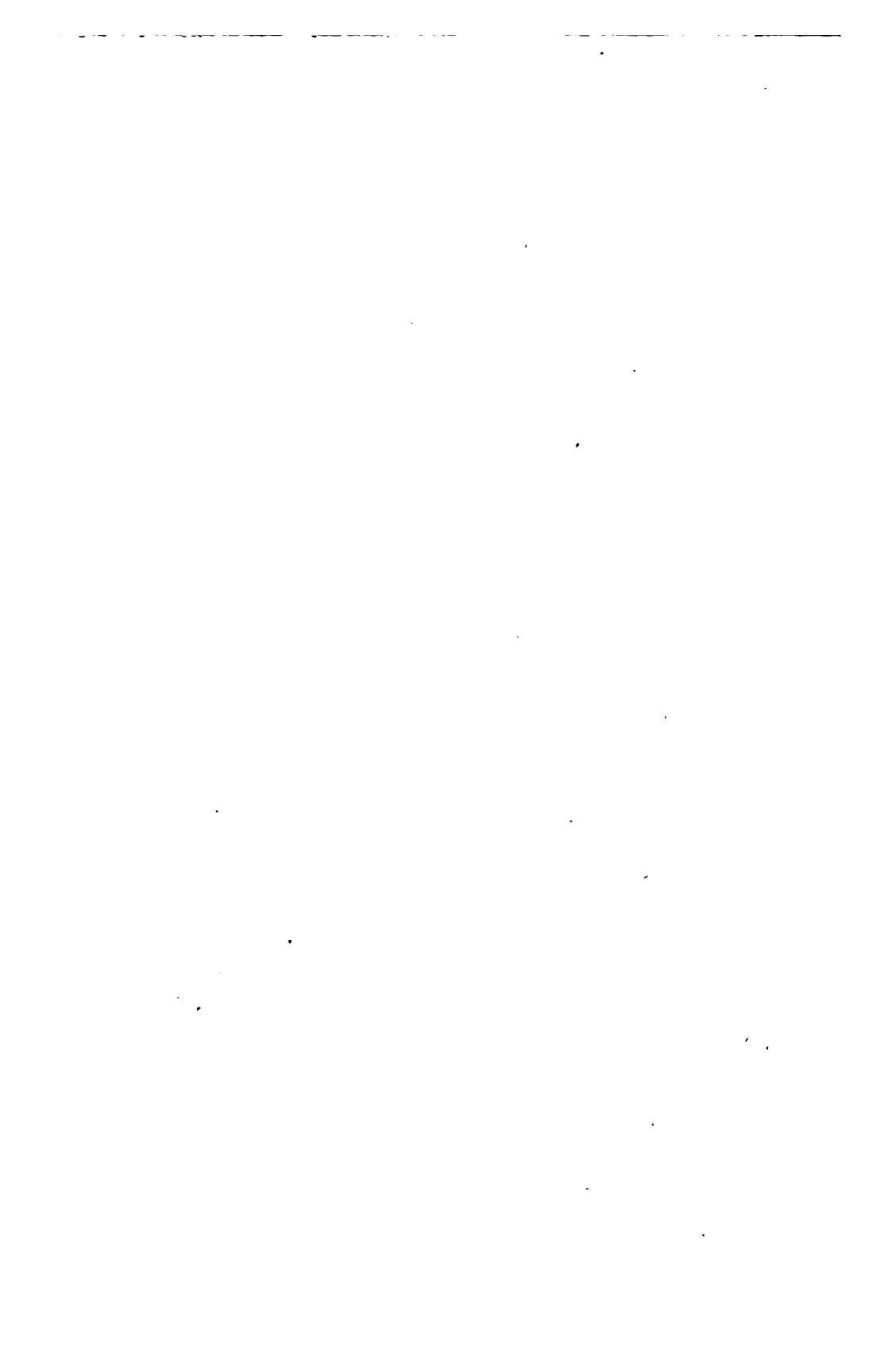


SCRIPTA IOANNIS COLET

PROFESSORIS THEOLOGIÆ, DECANI SANCTI PAULI LONDON :

IN PRINCIPIUM GENESIOS.





EPISTOLA I.

MIROR sane te, optime Radulphe, quum voluisti a capite Bibliæ inchoare, et obscuros locos in sacra scriptura querere, tam subito incidisse in quartum caput, ac primum de Lamech verbum sciscitari; omissis primis tribus capitibus prorsus intactis. In quibus mihi videtur tanta caligo, ut totus ille sermo, contentus in ipsis tribus capitibus, appareat esse ille abyssus super cujus faciem dicit Moyses tenebras fuisse; abyssus certe inscrutabilis, et tenebrositas indiscussibilis; nisi idem ille deus, qui orta luce illius abyssi tenebras discussit, impartito aliquo lumine intellectus sui, crassas nubes hujus Moisaici sermonis eciam discutiat. In quo omnia ita sunt tecta, ut infinitarum sententiarum et verborum data materia est; in quoque fere cuique licet dicere quid velit, modo inter se concinna dicat. Quod magis assequetur qui de principio Genesios disserat, quam verbis Moysaici consona dicat, nisi hebreici sermonis peritus esset, potuitque Commentaria hebreica consulere; sine cujus rei subsidio arbitror neminem Moysi scripta intelligere posse. Quod novit probe Origenes, Hieronimus, ac diligentissimus quisque indagator sacrarum literarum.

Verumtamen non nos deterreat anxia et molesta obscuritas. Sed inchoantes a capite ordinem rerum sequamur. Nisi quæ voco obscurissima tibi fortasse aliquis subito clara effecerit. Quod si sit quidem, nobis aliquid tui luminis impartieris. Atque ut tecum liberalius agam quam tu mecum, dabo tibi aliquid ex sensu meo de illa oratione Moysaica *In principio*, usque ad eum locum *Vespere et mane dies unus*.

Gen. i. 1.
Ib. ver. 5.

Non me latet plures esse sensus: sed unum persequar cursim.

Primum sentio illo verborum numero summatim universi mundi creacionem traditam esse, deumque universa simul creasse sua eternitate: quæ mensura est amplior omni tempore, et simul minus explicata puncto temporis. In eterni-

tate igitur creavit deus universa. In qua eternitate quum nulla est partitio, quid prohibet dicamus mundum eternum fuisse? quod hebreus Philo dicit sensisse Moysen. Sed de hoc alias. Nunc autem dicamus, quum mundus eternitate creatus est, quæ mensura est prima, una et individua; quumque ex primis elementis constat, ex materia et forma; summatim voluit Moyses generalem conjunctionem formæ cum materia dicere; ac in uno et individuo temporis puncto fieri; id est, eternitate, quæ antiquior et prior est tempore.

Igitur exorsus est: *In principio*, id est, eternitate, *creavit deus celum* formam *et terram* materiam. Nunquam autem fuit materia sine forma. Sed ut ordo rerum designatur, addit, *Terra materia erat inanis et vacua*; hoc est sine solida et substantiali entitate; *et tenebræ erant super faciem abyssi*; id est, tenebrosa fuit materia, ac privata lumine et esse. Tum sequitur, *Spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas*.

Vide quam belle pergit ordine, significans summariam creacionem copulationemque formæ cum materia. Per *aquam* autem significat instabilem fluxamque naturam materiæ. Nam constancia ex forma est, ex materia inconstancia. Quam inconstanciam ut sisteret deus et terminaret, inspiravit in lubricam materiam. Hoc est quod dicit, *Spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas*. Spiracio autem Divina quid est, nisi expressio esse et boni et formæ et lucis? quæ verba idem significant. Quam rem Moyses *lucem* vocat. Igitur post factam mencionem de divina inspiratione et afflatu materiæ, subjunxit: *Dixit Deus; Fiat lux*; id est, forma et terminacio rerum. *Et facta est lux*. Exorta est e vestigio luculenta rerum omnium ac tocius mundi formacio, quæ aut discussit aut textit materiæ atritatem. Quam formam quum *vidit deus esse bonam*, ex natura bonitatis dei et esse, *divisit lucem a tenebris*, id est, esse a non esse; ac tum cepit universum esse apparere sub deo creatore, et tenebræ—nihil,—ac malum, quod ipsum nihil est—latere.

Appellavit lucem diem; id est, evidenciam et veram monstrationem esse et formæ: nam dies nihil aliud est quidem quam lux fusa: formam autem paulo ante lucem vocavit:—*et tenebras noctem*: apte ut singula singulis referas. Nam si forma *lux* et *dies* possit appellari, tum materia expers

formæ et esse commode potest vocari *nox*. Cujus atra natura est a luculenta forma distincta.

Postremo ut ostendat omnia, et communem formæ cum materia coitum, in uno et individuo puncto, id est, eternitate, factum esse; addit: *Factum est vespere et mane dies unus*: id est, tempus et mensura totius creacionis est eternitas; in qua omne tempus unum et individuum est tempus, omnis dies unus dies. Quod dicit *Vespere et mane*, pergit in translatione; ut vespere ad materiam, mane ad formam referas.

Sic habes, mi Radulphe, cursim meam cogitationem de primo loco Genesisios. Quæ sequuntur in Moyse est repetitio et latior explicacio superiorum; ac speciatim distinctio earum rerum, quas primum generatim complexus est. Tu aliud si sentis, fac nos, te queso, participes. Vale.

EPISTOLA II.

PARUMPER de reliquis diebus, uti petis in calce epistolæ.

Facta mentione de materia ac forma (ex quibus elementis universa constant, eciam angeli ipsi, et quæ deo sunt maxime vicina, intelligibilia. Nam non nihil potenciæ habent, quum in illis materia est. Quid enim aliud est materia quam potencia? Item quid est expers omnino potenciæ, uno deo excepto, qui plenus actus est? Alia autem quæquunque sunt, quum quodam modo ex actu et potencia constant, necesse est * * * aliqua ex parte ex fece materiæ. Itaque quum universa luculencia, id est, forma, quæ est infusa in abyssum tenebrarum, vel in purissima sua parte, est nonnihil atritate illa tenebrarum et materiæ labefactata; quumque ex puro et impuro, ex actu et potencia, ex fluore et constancia, ex lubricitate et sistencia—hoc est, ex materia et forma—singula quæque quæ sunt, extant: excepto uno Deo, qui non est, sed longo intervallo est super esse)—de hac inquam rerum communi condicione quum fecerat mentionem Moyses, quumque ostenderat in individua eternitatis mensura ubique

caliginosam materiam esse illustratam; ac breviter et generatim de forma et materia dixerat; tum bono ordine pergit, ac particulatim res aggreditur, et mundi digestionem ante oculos ponit.

Quod sic facit, meo iudicio, ut sensus vulgi, et rudis multitudinis quam docuit, rationem habuisse videatur. Nam primum divinas res seperat, quæ abhorrent a vulgari iudicio. Seperat, inquam, ab hiis quæ sentiuntur; de hiisce dumtaxat quæ aperte conspiciuntur properanter et leviter diciturus; ut indoctam plebem admoneat de ordine rerum quæ manifestiores in oculis versantur; ut ipsos quoque homines qui sint, ad quidque nati doceat; ut deinceps facilius ad cultiorem vitam cultumque divinum, quod maxime proposuerat scribens Moyses, eosdem traduceret. Quod vel ex hoc preclare discerni potest, quod abditiora etiam in sensibilibus pretermisit; aerem scilicet et ignem; veritus loqui nisi de rebus quæ facillime spectari possunt, uti est terra, mare, plantæ, beluæ, homines; et ex stellis sol et luna; et ex piscibus cete grandia: ut ad ea quæ cernuntur quotidie, et vitæ humanæ usuique succurrunt, discant illi aliqua ex parte quomodo se habeant.

Itaque stultam multitudinem maximus et consultissimus Moyses edocturus, quid cogitet de rebus spectabilioribus magisque ei familiaribus, quum summatim illustracionem informacionemque communis materiæ tradiderit, quod una et individua eternitatis mensura factum fuit; tum, memor propositi sui, descendit ad ea composita quæ maxime in conspectu sunt, atque exorditur ab illo firmamento quod postea celum vocat; ita inquit: *Dixit quoque Deus: Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum.* Firmamentum et celum primum factum fuit in illo die quem vocat *unum*. Sed particulatim hæc spectabiliora voluit deinceps attingere Moyses; et hoc, modo poetæ alicujus popularis; quo magis consolatur spiritui simplicis rusticitatis; fingens successionem rerum, operum, et temporum; cujusmodi apud tantum opificem certe nulla esse potest. Sed rem et contextum litteræ.

Verum primum totam universitatem, quod platonici Mirandula in *Exameron* facit, parciamus in mundos quatuor. Quorum primus ipse deus est, mundus mundorum, quem

divinum mundum voco : secundus angelicus, qui constat ex claro choro angelorum : tercius celestis, qui ex sempiternis orbibus conficitur : quartus denique hic mundus est quem homines incolunt, regio tota infra orbem Lunæ contenta, qui terrenus mundus potest appellari. Qui quatuor mundi, quemadmodum quatuor elementa, Simbola quadam et communi condicione copulantur ; uti ex hac dispositione patet :—

Divinus mundus—Immobilis—Eternus.

Angelicus mundus—Eternus—Mobilis.

Celestis mundus—Sensibilis—Eternus.

Terrenus mundus—Sensibilis—Corruptibilis.

Motus autem, sensus, et corruptio, ex participatione materiæ est. Deus ergo, ille primus mundus, incorruptibilis, insensibilis, et penitus immobilis, omnino est expers materiæ. Reliqui autem mundi quantum habent potencie passionisque, tantum improbæ materiæ secum confusum habent.

Tenes memoriæ, Radulphe, me superiore carta dixisse materiæ naturam liquidam, fluxam et lubricam esse ; ac difficulter a forma contineri. Ita enim suapte natura constancie et stabilitati repugnat. Propter quam condicionem et dispositionem incertam, Moyses eam nomine aquarum voluit significare. Sunt enim aquæ fluxæ et terminacionem recusantes. Itaque quum in omni mundo, post primum qui ipse deus est, est materia quædam et potencia ; profecto est necesse ut ubique et in omni mundo aquæ sint, sintque omnia post Deum quodam modo liquefacta, atque suapte natura in nihilum fluencia, nisi ab ipsa soliditate et vere termino, id est, deo ipso, sisterentur :—eciam illi ipsi angeli quidem ; qui ex sua peculiari natura, si credamus Origeni, non sunt immortales ; quando quidem immortalitas a deo est solo, quibusdam ad certum tempus, quibusdam in infinitum impartita. Quod si quidque quod est, dei beneficio est, sua autem ipsius intima natura fragile, fluens, et caducum est, atque, ad modum aquæ, proprio et suo termino non reperiens ubi se sistat, profecto eleganti translacione possumus omnia preter deum *aquas* appellare.

Aquæ ergo sunt et supra firmamentum, et sub firmamento, et in ipso quoque firmamento. Sed quia firmamentum, eternum et sensibile, medium tenet inter illas tam distantes

- ver. 6. naturas ; videlicet, eternas, insensibiles ; et sensibiles, moribundas ; igitur scripsit Moyses : *Dixit quoque deus : Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum ; et dividat aquas ab aquis* : id est, aquas illas supercelestes, et angelicas naturas, ex sua natura corruptibiles, dei autem beneficio eternas, ab aquis hiis supercelestibus fluidas et corruptibiles.¹
- ver. 7. *Et fecit deus firmamentum.* Fuit antea factum. Sed crassiter et pingue docenda fuit stulta illa et macra multitudo. Tum vides deinceps quam plana reliqua sequuntur,
- ver. 8. ut nulla egeant expositione. Quod autem dicit *Et factum est vespere et mane, dies secundus* : ne videar semper confugere ad id, ut dicam Moysen popularem et plebeum voluisse apud suam plebem esse, confinxisseque successionem dierum divino opere, quasi humanum opus esset, ut ruditatis homunculorum et paulo ante in luto et latere versatorum videatur meminisse :—ne videar, inquam, semper confugere, utque videar eciam animadvertere te non lutulentum hebreum, sed politissimum philosophum esse ; volo de hiis verbis aliquid alcins afferre ; ut saltem secunda, prima, et tota nostra oratio continua esse poterit. Quare audi patienter tametsi fortasse nova ; si quid sub sole novum sit. Et sine, quanquam utres sumus veteres, ut in nos aliquid musti infundam. Ego autem me continebo ne rumpar. Tu autem si rumpare ad hoc nostrum novum, vereor tum ne ex antiquis fecibus male oleas. Sed audi quæso qui hic *secundus dies* est.
- Matt. ix. 17.

Nempe, ut mihi videtur, eternum tempus ; quod est ab ipsa eternitate ordine secundum. Ut enim eternitas est omne tempus counitum ; ita quoque tempus eternum est eternitas explicata. Atque ut divini operis, quod Moyses summatim complexus est primo sermone, eternitas mensura est, quem *diem unum* vocavit ; ita celestis operis, quod secundo sermone attingit, mensura eternum tempus est ; quem *diem secundum* vocat : qui dies est firmamenti, sicut eternitas dies summarii opificii vel creacionis dei. Quare Moyses quum firmamentum factum esse dixerat, ut ei suam accommodatam mensuram adhiberet, ut antea primum

¹ *Leg. subcelestibus fluidis et corruptibilibus.*

primo, ita secundum secundo adjunxit. Deus et angelica natura eternitate mensurantur. A celo tempus incipit. Ut igitur eternis eternitas, ita temporariis tempus. Atque primo temporali primum tempus quidem, quod est eternum; quod est quasi quædam explicacio eternitatis, sicut celum et visibilis mundus est illius antiquioris et invisibilis mundi explicacio.

Ut ergo singula singulis apte tribuantur, quemadmodum intelligibili mundo convenit eternitas, ita sensibili eternum tempus. Quare si deo et ejus creacioni momentaniæ tribuenda sit eternitas, quare celo et ejus operacioni non dandum sit tempus eternum? quod ordine ab eternitate secundum est: quem d[iem secundum] judicio de celo scribens vocat, sicuti ante de divina factione disserens eternitatem *diem unum* appellavit.

Sic habes novum quod dixi (quod contine, si potes), et perfectum sermonem de secundo die. De Lamech postea statim, quum me de tedio scribendi paululum levaverim. Vale.

EPISTOLA III.

TERTIUM nunc deinceps diem aggrediamur, memores semper Moysen memorem fuisse propositi sui, ut in hoc mundi exordio et descriptione simul et rerum ordinem observaret, et judicio rudioris populi inserviret; ut in mundi partibus non alias attingeret quam eas [quæ] maxime solent ab humili populo observari; nec aliter de eiisdem disserere, quam putavit sensui eorum convenire. Itaque quum multitudo agrestior, circumspiciens in omnes partes, nihil animadvertit preter celum supra, et hic in imo loco terram et aquam, atque ea deinde quæ ex aqua et terra nascuntur, in eiisdemque degunt; Moyses, ut ordo rerum expostulaverit, quum primum creacionem celi expresserat, pergit ad reliqua duo elimenta, aquam et terram; quæ a vulgo in elimentis sola putantur esse. Nam inter celum et maria, quod sensum fugiunt, aerem et ignem esse non advertunt. Hic autem quanquam omnia quæ infra orbem lunæ aqua dici possunt, ob inconstanciam fluxumque materiæ, appellataque sic erant

eciam paulo ante a Moyse, quum dicebat firmamento *aquas ab aquis divisas fuisse*;—tamen hic, inquam, in hoc tercio, quum gradatim et propius accedit ad res magis hominibus cognitæ et familiares, consulto verbo *aquæ* utitur significacione usitata; ac totum curat ut res vulgi sensum, verba autem res ipsas, apte sequantur.

- ver. 9. Dicit ergo deum dixisse: *Congregentur aquæ sub celo in locum unum*. Quod proculdubio est intelligendum de aquarum orbe; qui suapte natura ambit et complectitur terræ orbem, sed divino nutu secedit et sistit se; ut extet pars terræ ad animantium vitam, quæ nascuntur ut victum ex terra petant.
- ver. 10. Igitur addit: *Et appareat arida. Et factum est ita. Et vocavit deus aridam terram*.

Vide quæ translacione sumpta Moyses modo communi nomine vocavit aquas, quum generatim de hiis rebus locutus est, nunc speciatim de eiisdem habens sermonem, quamque earum suo proprio nomine appellat; videlicet fluens aridum, terram; fluens humidum, aquam; ac deinde fluentes naturas quæ terram et aquam incolunt, quamque earum suo proprio vocabulo: quæ tamen universa ob assiduum fluxum aquæ aptissime nuncupari possunt. Nec aliud quidem est illud Moysaicum *aquas ab aquis dividi*, quam celum media quadam ratione [dividere crea]turas quæ et supra et sub celo sunt. Quæ omnes sunt fluxæ et labentes, nisi ab ipsa constancia, qui deus, sustinerentur.

Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Nam bonum ex bono est, et ex bono bonum; et a deo quicquid est, bonum est, qui ipse est bonitas.

- ver. 11. Addit: *germinet terra herbam virentem, et facientem semen, et lignum pomiferum faciens fructum iuxta genus suum, cujus semen in semetipso sit supra terram*. Hæc satis plana sunt; tamen notandus est ordo, propter ea quæ quarto die creata sequuntur. Atque animadvertendum est, omnia quæ ex Deo nata fuerint, prodiisse ab ipso deo fecunda et fertilia. Siquidem deus ipse ipsa fecunditas est, unde omnis tracta est fecunditas et vis propagandi. Quæ certe est major et amplior in illis rebus quæ sunt deo ordine viciniore. In quo Deo est maxima et amplissima fecunditas. Angelicas naturas omitto, quæ sunt omni corporea natura fecundiores.

Corpora vero quanto sunt natura priora, eo pleniora sunt natura seminandi, et fetificant magis; sicuti sunt elementa et celum. Hæc enim ex quibus reliqua nascuntur, a seminatore illo et satore deo contraxerunt secum rationes seminales; non aliter quidem quam femina quum ex coitu viri discesserit. Nam quum optimus et maximus, et ipsa rerum plenitudo, deus (ut ordinem animadvertamus), in seipso continuit universa; antequam eadem ex se profunderat; in gremio et amplexibus tanti tamque fecundi genitoris fuit necesse ut materia quæ amplexata fuerat, quasi femina, omni fetu gravida, ab omnium genitore dimitteretur; traheretque secum omnium rerum semina, quæ a philosophis rationes seminales vocantur.

Quanquam vero omnia simul genita fuerint, tamen ordo expostulat ut sint primum nata, deinde natorum nata; tum in corporibus, tum eciam in hiis quæ carent corporibus. Sed incorporea semper missa facio; Moysen imitans, quem nunc conamur tractare. In corporibus primum nata, et in universitatis arbore rami viciniore radici, et in rerum propagine qui filii suo primo parenti, id est, deo, propriiores, sunt simplicia corpora; ether, ignis, aer, aqua et terra; in quibus eciam ipsis est ordo et degeneracio. Nam (durum est tibi auditu quod dicam; tamen dicam quod sentio) quum ignis ex ethere, ex igne aer, ex aere aqua, ex hac denique terra nascitur; sic enim¹ opinor quod posterius est natum oportet longe degeneret, et a sui progenitoris condicione longo intervallo decadat. In quo casu quum imitantur principium rei in deterius, necesse est simul omnia deteriora sequantur. Itaque quanto aliquid posterius nata² est, tanto deinceps ejusdem est difficultas pariendi, et natorum paucitas atque vilitas.

Quum vero terra in simplicibus extremum locum tenet, quanquam hæc multarum rerum ferax est, tamen multo minus fecunda est quam elementa superiora, multoque longius parturit et tardius parit; et parta denique difficilius sustinet; quæ infirmitate naturæ assidue cadent,³ sustentacioneque egent, renovacionemque exposcunt. Hinc suc-

¹ *Leg.* etiam.

² *Leg.* natum.

³ *Leg.* cadunt.

cessio natorum ex terra, et eorum quæ stirpibus herent annuatim regeneracio. Quod in ethere celoque non fit quidem; in quo semel nata propter vim parentis celi perpetuo manent.

Sed queris quænam sunt quæ nascuntur in celo? Nempe stellæ omnes, quæ illic natæ fuerunt et manent in eternum; quemadmodum sunt in terra, et ad tempus manent, quæ ex terra nascuntur. Habet eciam ignis aer et aqua suos fetus et incolas; de quibus longum esset disserere, et a nostro proposito alienum.

Sed quæ modo tam alte repetivimus huc spectant, ut intelligamus terram plantarum parentem suapte natura fetam esse; atque quamquam rarius et difficilius et tardius et vilius, tamen certe sine solis adjumento parere et plantas fundere posse; quum hoc innatum ei sit, et ex rationibus suis seminalibus habet, ut multa ex se et varia proferat. Quare non debeat mirari quispiam, Moysen fecisse mentionem prius de hiis quæ ex terra nascuntur; quum id mihi videtur consulto fecisse; ut sapienciores admoneret terram sua sponte omnium plantarum feracem esse, ipsamque terræ pregnantem¹ et fertilitatem eciam soli et lunæ ordine antecedere. Quandoquidem si justum ordinem attendamus, debemus dicere prius terram fusam, quam in celo stellæ natas fuisse. Quum oportet prior fusio peragatur quam inchoetur secunda. Primum autem cursum voco a deo inchoatum, ac orbiculatim pergentem in ultimum orbem, quæ terra est. Secundam fusionem, et ut ita dicam feturam, appello eam quæ ex hiis primis elementis deinde fiunt; quorum quodque deinceps in se suos incolas progeniit.

Itaque terra² et sua fecunditas dico non fecunditati celi, sed natis stellis antecedere: quæ stellæ, quamquam ordine antecedunt—non dico terræ fecunditati, sed plantis quæ ex terra nascuntur; tamen quum has plantas terra sua sponte profert ex intimis suis rationibus seminalibus, voluit Moyses fertilitatem terræ et plantarum generacionem ante stellarum mentionem facere; ut ostenderet fecunditatem terræ ex stellis non dependere: quod fortassis propter magni solis adjumentum, quod affert nascituris, videri potest.

¹ *Leg.* pregnantiam.

² *Leg.* terram, etc.

Dicit tum: *Germinet terra herbam viventem et facientem* ver. 11. *semen*. Nam etiam quæ ex terra nascuntur, ab ipsa terra trahunt fecunditatem, gestantque secum vim propagandi sui. Quæ vis in hiis ultimis ita contracta et divisa est, ut solum ad semen et inchoamentum sui similis sufficiat. Quod ipsum inchoamentum ita infirmum est, ut nullo modo nisi extrinsecus multis adjumentis suum parentem referre poterit. Nec ad aliud est idoneum quod referat, præter illud ipsum a quo genitum fuit; ut in extremo vi exhausta in idem reditus sit, ejusdemque relatio; ut non novum natum, sed idem quod ante natum videatur; ut quadam successione idem continuetur. Hinc est illud quod postea addidit: *Et habens* ver. 12. *unumquodque sementem secundum speciem suam*. Nam ex terra profecta, in qua major est vis seminandi, traxerunt secum vim etiam quandam seminalem, saltem sui ipsius, quum plurium et variorum non poterant.

Quid autem sibi velit in hac parte: *Et factum est vespere* ver. 13. *et mane, dies tercius?* Difficilis sane et anxiosa est questio, ut me cogitantem excruciat. Nam memini quæ supra dixi de primo et secundo die; quæ a me flagitant ut reliqua consensientia et concinna dicam. Quod quo modo assequar non intelligo. Sed dicendum est aliquid, quum cepimus, quod nobis dicendum videtur. Cum quo ages quod velis. Mihi satis est me in hoc genere scribendi, ac in cogitatione de tantis rebus, leviter [lucubrasse.]¹

Sed primum ponamus quæ notamus in Moyse, ac in rerum ordinem de quibus locutus est. Notamus quidem quæ sequuntur:—

Moysem digna Deo loqui voluisse.

In rebus vulgo cognitis, vulgo satisfacere.

Ordinem rerum servare.

In primis populum ad religionem et cultum unius Dei traducere.

Vulgo maxime cognita quinque:—celum; terra, mare (astincta); stellas; pisces; bestias. Post primum ergo diem, in quo omnia summatim complexus est, hæc quinque notabiliora et vulgari sensu magis familiaria apprehendit;

¹ Vide hujusce Epist. finem.

ea suo justo ordine rectissime designans, ac quantum ruditatis iudicium passum est, eciam doctissime. Nam primum est celum. Tum inter numerata a Moyse secundo loco est terra mare circumdata, quæ ordine rerum stellis¹ generacioni antegreditur. De qua terra quum locutus est, adjecit sermonem de plantis; non quod hæc stellis priores sunt, sed quum dixit *Germinet terra*, ostenderet rationem germinandi seminalem stellis existentibus priorem esse; ne putaret vulgus, uti solet, totam generacionis vim in sole et reliquis stellis esse. Stellæ autem, quantum celum terræ anteit, tantum illæ natæ in celo anteeunt reliquis rebus quæ in reliquis elimentis nascuntur. Ob id causæ, quum dixerat de terra mare circumfusa, dixerat simul eciam de plantis terræ herentibus, occasione data; ut antiqua terræ fecunditas et spontanea indicaretur. Tum quarto loco de quarto in ordine loquitur. Hic stellarum numerus est, celi incolæ. De quibus quum sermo a Moyse haberetur, plane videri potest illum singularem rationem vulgaris iudicii habuisse, ac spectabiliora dumtaxit apprehendere voluisse. Quandoquidem pro omnibus stellis solem et Lunam tantum nominavit; sicuti postea in quinto die pro omnibus piscibus solum *cete grandia* commemorat.

Sed ex illis quinque quæ dixi, tertium locum tenet Sol et luna et reliquæ stellæ, celum incolæ; quæ ad alios elimentorum incolæ ita comparantur, ut orbiculare celum ad reliqua sub se contenta corpora orbicularia. Sub quibus stellis sunt incolæ Ignis et Aeris; quos si quosdam prophanos sequar, debeo appellare demones igneos et aërios. Sed de spectacioribus rebus in hoc mundo volens disserere, Moyses hæc latenciora omisit.

Igitur post sermonem de stellis apponit verba de piscibus, et illis quæ aqua nascuntur; quibus quia hii pisces ordine spectabilium quarti sunt, ad illa autem primo die facta, in quo maxime voluit notare invisibilia, si comparentur, quinti: —igitur eis quintus dies accommodatur.

Quæ autem sexto die commemorantur, non tam ex simplicibus elimentis nascuntur, nec habent eam simplicitatem naturæ, quam habent quas modo sepe vocavi elimentorum incolæ; sed sunt compositiora, ac ob id causæ illis incolis

¹ *Leg.* stellarum.

posteriora, ac posterius commemorata. Nam si prima illa et antiqua generacio belluarum exquiratur, profecto si quid illis generibus primum esse potuerit, id videtur non ex uno elemento maxime, ut elementorum incolæ, sed ex universo mundo corporeo depromptum esse. Homo autem ita compositus est ut tocius universitatis, et corporeæ et incorporeæ, filius videatur esse. Hiis ergo spectatis rebus bestiis et homini, quæ sunt commemoratorum visibilium quintæ; ad invisibilium vero, quæ maxime primo die complectuntur, sextæ; sextus dies tribuitur.

Qui numerus senarius mihi videtur non tam numerum et distinctionem temporis, quæ in creacione nulla fuit, quam rerum ipsarum numerum et ordinem significare. Quarum quum cujusque suum est tempus et propria mensura, capit suum quodque eorum quæ numeravit tempus modum appellandi numeralem. Itaque ex primis et secundis et terciis rebus, dies, et earum rerum mensura, primæ, secundæ, et terciæ dicuntur; quæ dies tantum inter se differunt, quantum res ipsæ quibus accommodantur. Quæ mensura temporis cujusque quum quodammodo sua propria potest cogitari, ex ordine et numero rerum motus ** Moyses tempus eciam ordine et numero distinguere, ac suum tempus cuiquam accommodare. In quo primum, secundum, et tertium est, et sic deinceps; ex ordine et numero ipsarum rerum. Nam quanquam tempus unum commune et simplex est, tamen mensura cujusque precise potest animo complecti; quod statuit primum, vel secundum, vel tertium; ut res ipsæ primæ, vel secundæ, vel terciæ censeantur.

Eternis rebus eternitas: celo eternum tempus: reliquis rebus sua tempora aptantur. Quas res senario numero distinxit, partim quia sex numero facile in rebus hominum in mentem venire possunt. Sunt quidem quæ sequuntur:—

Supra celum:

Celum ipsum:

Terra circumdata aqua, et plantarum ferax:

Sol, Luna, Celi incolæ:

Pisces, aquæ incolæ:

Bestiæ, terræ, aquæ, aeris, incolæ; et homo, tocius universitatis incola.

Partim eciam et maxime distinxit eum numerum, ut imitacio divina, quem more poetæ finxit sex dies operatum esse, septimo quievisse, populum septimo quoque die ad quietem et contemplacionem dei et cultum adduceret: contentus certe hoc numero septinario, quo opera et finis operis quies contineretur, ob perfectionem numeri illius, qui deprehenditur in rebus a natura creatis semper cum complecione occurrere. Nam proculdubio nunquam dierum numerum statuisset, nisi ut illo utilissimo et sapientissimo figmento, quasi quodam proposito exemplari, populum ad imitandum provocaret, ut sexto quoque die diurnis actionibus fine imposito, septimo in summa dei contemplacione persisterent. Hinc maxime secuplex illa rerum distinctio: ut ex illis dierum distinctionem et ordinem cum auctoritate et religione introduceret. Qui primi, secundi, et tercii dicuntur a rebus ipsis; in quibus primum est, secundum, et tertium. Itaque de terciis quando locutus fuerit, diem et tempus earum rerum vocavit tertium.

Sic habes, Radulphe, quid sentio de tercii diei opere: quod quid est, nescio. Satis est, ut modo dixi, ad hunc modum leviter nos in hiis rebus lucubrasse. Vale.

EPISTOLA. IV.

SALVE, Radulphe: ac cum salute puto te rediisse; quod tibi opto. Quatuor, ut arbitror, dies transiisti: ego interea vix unum Moysaicum diem transii. Immo tu elaborasti in die sub sole; ego hoc tempore in nocte et tenebris vagatus sum; nec vidi quo eundum esset, nec quo perveni intelligo. Sed in cepto pergendum erat, ac tandem inveni exitum ut poteram.

In quo difficili errore videor mihi apud Moysen magnum errorem deprehendisse. Nam quum cujusque diei opus concluderat hiis verbis, *Et factum est vespere et mane, dies unus, secundus, tertius*, non addidisset *dies*, sed *nox* potius *una, secunda, et tertia*; propterea quod, inchoante vespere, deinde mane sequente, est necesse, quod intercedat inter

antecedens vespere et subsequens mane, nox sit. Dies enim incipit mane, vesperi terminatur.

Sed maxime profecto quæ Moyses scribens in dies distinxerat, noctes appellasset magis, propterea quod offusæ sint tantis tenebris, ut nihil possit nocti videri similius quam dies Moysaicus. Quas nocturnas tenebras cum opinione aliqua lucis conati sumus discutere. Fortasse nos quoque tenebrosi tenebras auximus, noctesque produximus. Attamen prestat nos recte facere voluisse. Ac quicquid est quod egimus, si tibi obscurum videatur, infunde tum aliquid luminis tui; ut et nos videas, utque nos eciam simul tecum Moysen videre possimus.

Primus dies habet summariam rerum generacionem. Secundus constitutionem celi. Tercius fecunditatem terræ. Quartus deinde adhibetur dies, in quo celi incolæ numerantur; Sol, luna, et ceteræ stellæ. Quæ sane in rerum ordine quartæ sunt, atque inter hujus corporei mundi incolas omnium primi. Nam plantæ, de quibus modo locutus est, propterea quod perpetuo herent terræ, non tam incolæ quam quæ incolantur dici debent. De quibus eciam Moyses ante stellas fecit mentionem magis occasione data quam proposito: ut aperte ostenderet pregnantiam terræ ex stellis non dependere.

Quum ergo inter hujus sensibilis mundi incolas, qui movent se latius et vagantur, stellæ primum locum tenent; quoniam regio earum omnium prima est; ob id causæ summam comprehensa universitate primo die, secundo posito celo; tercio terra fixa, et succincta mari, et herbis vestita (ex quibus tribus rebus solum, scilicet celo, mari, terra, vulgus sensibilem hunc mundum constare putat)—post hæc ordinem rerum sequens, aggreditur sermonem de sensibilis mundi incolis; hiis videlicet qui sunt vulgi oculis magis spectaciores. De quibus eciam populariter et crasso calamo scribit; memor se habuisse in manibus rudem multitudinem quam doceret, et ad capessendum altiorem sermonem omnino impotentem.

Quod fecit ut nihil diceret de stellis, quarum peritissimus fuerat, preter ea quæ sunt animadversa a vulgo et notata:—eas esse in firmamento, lucere super terram, dies

et annos facere; quod vulgus eciam ipsum discernere et dicere potuit. Sed omnia consonant proposito Moysis; qui voluit initium sermonis, ac partium mundi spectatarum a multitudine, earum inquam dispositionem, a deo petere; et hoc cum quadam operarum et dierum distinctione; ut rudi genti, cum auctoritate religionis, exemplum et operandi et quiescendi proponeret; traheretque ad quandam imitationem dei, totius mundi opificis; quem artificiosissime et piissime finxit in architectura sex dies consummasse, septimo autem die quievisse, ut in hominum mentes primum septimo quoque die religiosam quietem induceret, auctoritateque dei et exemplo persuaderet stultæ multitudini septimum quenque diem contemplacioni cultuique divino consecratum esse.

ver. 14.

Sed ad verba Moysis accedamus. *Dixit autem deus: Fiant luminaria in firmamento celi.* Ut diximus, hæc omnia simul creata fuerint. Nam indignum est deo et minime decet, putare illum aliud post aliud fecisse, quasi omnia simul momento facere non potuisset. Hinc illud Ecclesiastici est: *Qui vivit in eternum, creavit omnia simul.* Sed more boni piique poetæ, qualem illum in libro quem contra Celsum scripsit, vocat Origenes, effingere aliquid voluit nonnihil indignum Deo, modo idem commodum et utile hominibus esse possit. Quod hominum genus deo ita charum est, ut deus ipse *exinanivit se, formam servi suscipiens*, ut homuncolorum cordi consuleret. Sic oportet et decet eciam ut omnia dei, quum hominibus tradantur, a sua sublimitate degenerent, subeantque modum quendam crassiorem, ab hominibusque captiorem.

Eccles.
xviii. 1.

Phil. ii. 7.

Itaque Moysis altissima sapiencia de deo deque divinis rebus creacioneque mundi, quum ab eo tradenda esset vulgari iudicio, totum humile et rusticum olet; ut non ex suo ingenio sed ex multitudinis sensu loquutus videatur: sic tamen ut illorum sensui serviens conatur honestissimo et piissimo figmento simul inescare et trahere eos ut deo inser-viant. Quod et veteres theologos fecisse, et eiisdem id licere facere, docet Macrobius in Comentario edito. . . .



DE CORPORE CHRISTI
MYSTICO.





*DE COMPOSITIONE SANCTI CORPORIS CHRISTI
MYSTICI, QUÆ EST ECCLESIA; QUÆ SINE
ANIMA EJUS, SPIRITU SCILICET, DIS-
PERGITUR ET DISSIPATUR.*

HOMINES ex quibus ecclesia componitur, propria eorum et caduca et carnali natura, omnino a se dissimulata dissipantur. Distant enim inter se propriis naturis et voluntatibus; et quisque, ipse sibi confusus, quod ipse velit sequitur. Quorum hominum affectiones quum singulis momentis variantur, quum quisque ex sua ipsius propria natura pendet ingenio et voluntate, est necesse ut continue societatis status transmutetur, aliamque habeat faciem singulis fere annis.

Quid dicemus enim de hac ima regione in terris, ubi omnia sunt atra et frigida, contraria inter se et pugnancia; in qua regione incolatus prolongatus est noster? Quid item de corporibus contrariis naturis conantibus dissidere? Quid denique de hominum animabus, in quibus tot sunt sensus ex se quot capita, tot voluntates quot sensus? Unde fit contra naturam carnis et hominum esse, ex se ipsis coire in unum, manere simile, et sibi ipsi constare. Sed est necesse, ex illo antiquo casu, ita geniti sint, ut quisque suapte natura seorsum se abducatur, et proprium sequatur commodum; ac ex societatis communione, proclivitate caducæ naturæ, decidant et passim delabantur; ut, quanquam condant ipsi congregati leges, quibus societas et civitas hominum vincitur, tamen dissidentia naturæ vincula legum rumpant, nullasque leges diu observent.

Quæ carnalis conditio, et humanus status, ac in malum pronitas, fecit ut hebrei legi vel a Deo datæ, bonæ et sanctæ, non obtemperarint, sed semper transgressi sunt limites qui erant positi ne transgrediantur. *Propter transgressionem*, Gal. iii. 19. inquit Paulus, *lex posita est*. Et in eadem Epistola ad

Gal. vi. 13. Galatas est: *Neque qui circumciduntur legem custodiunt; quia lex non vivificat. Observatio legis est ex vivificante quadam ratione, et ea quæ justos homines facit. Quia non sumus justi ex observata lege, sed quia sumus justi, ideo bonam legem observamus. Justi autem sumus justificati gratia, facti justi per Deum, ut juste vivamus; ut justificatio nostra precedat justam actionem, quæ legis observatio est; nec prius agamus juste quam simus ipsi justi. Nostra autem propria natura humana et carnali omnes injusti sumus, impotentes sane ut quidvis juste agamus, quanquam nobis justum factum precipiatur. Quid enim precipias injustis, nisi prius eos justos facias, ut justi effecti justiciæ precepta observare possint? nisi velis illorum impotentiam ad bonum notificare, ut aliunde quærant, ut justi juste fiant; ut justi lege, præceptrice boni, non egeant; propter quam causam sane data fuit lex moisaica, quæ ipsa requisivit justos, non fecit. Ait apostolus ad Galatas: Si enim data lex est quæ possit vivificare, vere ex lege est justitia. Sed manserunt homines sub bonis preceptis injusti, donec ipsi ad bona preceptaificentur, justique facti sic ex se justis bonum agant, ut lege præceptrice nihilo egeant.*

Ib. iii. 21.

Interea autem antequam venerat hæc ratio justificandi homines, et reformandi in justiciam intrinsicam, ut interna lege Dei juste vivant; profecto ubique humanum genus solutum, vagum, dispersum, sine ordine, deforme, sine bonitate, inefficax justitiæ fuit; quum, deserti a Deo, quisque, quo sua se contulit natura, illuc decedit: unde communi ubique infirmitate naturæ, quisque quod suum erat quæsit; intentus in proprium commodum, intentus ut suis viribus semet ipsum augeat, firmet et stabiliat. Qui sibi confusus, quum studiose quæsit commodum suum et stabilitatem, ignarus et miser corrumpit in majorem infirmitatem, caditque in deterius.

Ita ex cæpto malo, malum de malo sequitur sine fine, nisi aliquando remedium mali adhibeatur; aliunde, inquam, non ex se ipso: quia malum malo mederi non potest, nec homines mali bonas leges facere, nec ipsi mali se in ordinem redigere; qui sunt ipsi, ex hoc quod ceciderunt ex bonitate et ordine, omnino mali quidem et inordinati; ut quicquid inter se, ex

se, et per se moliantur, nihil prodeat foras tandem nisi nocens deformitas.

Ut enim ex quibus humanum corpus constat, nisi esset communis quædam vis, quam animam vocant, quæ dissidentes illas naturas una conciliet in ordinem, et convinciat ac copulet, hæc elimenta suis proprietatibus dispergerentur; ita, nisi sit supra homines quod eos, suapte natura solutos, deformes, perditos, reficiat, reformet, redigatque in unum, contineatque constanter in pulchritudine et bona actione, et naturarum invicem comminatione; profecto ejusmodi communis ratio potens, vera et bona, ampla et capax, nisi concipiat et contrahat homines, ex se defluentes, in unum, ut ex privatione et proprietate in communitatem unamiter confluant:—nisi, inquam, talis ratio assit, certe est necesse, divisi ex se homines et dissipati dispalentur, et *errent sicut ovis quæ periiit*, et sicut grex a pastore destitutus, et sicut exercitus privatus duce suo, et denique sicut corpus relictum ab anima sua. Nam extensi et disgregati in motu, non statu, versantur. Motus mutationes facit assiduas in humano genere, facitque ut nihil constanter et simul habeatur; sed, ut motu geritur aliquid ex uno loco, ita ut ex alio amittatur. Variæ hominum affectiones et contrariæ faciunt ut propellat unus, alius fugiat, atque ita societas dissipetur.

Ps. cxviii.
176.

Ita patet homines, natura sua et propria, nullo modo diu et firmiter in unitate posse constare. Oportet ergo convertantur una ipsi inter se homines aliunde, vi scilicet aliqua superiori, in qua cunctæ societatis partes in unam totius quasi corporis copulam conspirent; quæ res se habeat ad civitatem humanam, ut anima ad corpus. Est igitur in hominibus (si una ordine digesti constant secum pulchre), est quiddam necessario ultra humanam naturam, quod homines unit, sistit et continet. Unit, inquam, eorum distantiam; sistit fluxum et perniciem ad malum proclivitatem; continet invicem per suam simplicem consonantiam dissonas hominum mentes et voluntates.

Quid autem hoc est quod ita cogit homines congregatos conspirare in unum, nisi supra homines spiritus; qui congregat homines, ut inspirati respirent, et in se una simulque comminiter conspirent; ut quod erat impossibile humanæ

Ioan. iii. 8. naturæ, ut ordine se pulchro in civitate homines se digerant, id perficiat spiritus Dei; qui *ubi vult spirat*, ut ait Johannes, et quos vult in suam civitatem vocat, et quos vocavit iustificat; ut ex justis sibi ille spiritus et in se justam civitatem componat, quæ civitas Dei vocetur. Nam *Deus Spiritus est*.

Rom. viii. 2. Qui homines in spiritum non alia uniuntur lege, quam inspiratione justificationeque divini spiritus: qui quum omnes sunt spiritu et vita iusti viventes, non egent lege, quæ non datur nisi injustis et peccatoribus. Nam lex, inquit Paulus ad Romanos, *Spiritus vitæ est*, id est, spiritus vivificans in Christo Jesu. Ex hoc enim et tale quod vivificat mortuos homines, in hominibus iusticia est. Lex autem Moisaica non vivificat. Ideo ex illa vere non est iusticia. Vivificatio est spiritu Christi, qui parens est iusticiæ; quæ iusticia est *alterum alterius onera portare* ex amore; quæ iusticia *adimpletio est legis* Christi, et est iustorum effectus; eorum qui sunt in justo Christo iusti facti, ut in operibus procreant iusticiam, non ex se sed ex lege Christi. Nemo decipiatur in seipso, credens se ex se aliquid esse; sed examinet quod agit dignum laude: quod quicquid sit, ex Deo est.

Gal. vi. 2.
Rom. xiii.
10.

Vis autem hæc vivificans, uniens et copulans homines, Spiritus Sanctus est; cuius proprium est diversos homines et contrarias mentes in unam civitatis compagem devincire. Quo spiritu abeunte, proclivitate sua defluunt omnia. Siquidem quando abest copula intima et substantia copulatrix, et quasi anima ecclesiam vivificans, tum, ut mortuum corpus, necesse est ecclesia, corpus deitatis, privata spiritu, decidat divisa et dissipata.

Spiritus autem Dei unus idem et simplex est, sua ipsius unitate constans, et in unita a se civitate permanens, quamdiu patitur unitorum obedientia; quamdiu etiam unitori spiritui confidunt, non sibi ipsis: ex qua sibi ipsis confidentia dissidium nascitur. Dum autem adest spiritus Dei ecclesiæ, infundit se mirifice ubique, et se porrigit radiatim per omnia ecclesiæ membra quæ sunt in Christo. † Qui spiritus Christi toti ecclesiæ partibusque intime et dat esse cuique in Christo, et simul ut dat esse, dat unitatem.† Qui spiritus Christi

unitur toti corpori ecclesiæ, et totum unit, datque singulis partibus hominibusque esse spiritale, et unitatem in spiritu Dei omnibus simul pulchram. Quo spiritu sublato, species mutatur in omnibus et in ecclesia, et pulchritudo vertitur in deformitatem. Quod si ecclesiæ adsit spiritus Dei, tunc ab ejus essentia, quæ est una cum Patre et Filio, fluit esse spiritale in omnia ecclesiæ membra; quo influxu primum in esse spiritale regnuntur, tum in eodem conservantur.

Actus igitur illius essentiæ Dei in nobis est esse nostrum spiritale in illo. Nam essentiæ actus est esse. Atque quemadmodum ab essentia spiritus unitas et esse spiritale fluit in singula ecclesiæ membra, ita ab ejusdem essentiæ virtute fluit spiritalis operatio in quoque homine spiritali, quæ esse spiritale comitatur. Itaque a Spiritu Dei in Christo, in eos qui sunt vocati in ipsum, singulos quosque pro capacitate, et ut decet constructioni ecclesiæ, simul et esse spiritale et operatio immittitur, et mentibus voluntatibusque eorum elargitur; ut primum sint spiritales in spiritu, tum ex spiritu omnia spiritaliter agant, spiritalesque effectus procreent; ut per spiritales operationes spiritales homines in spiritu Christi esse agnoscantur. *Ex fructibus eorum*, inquit Christus de suis membris, *cognoscetis eos*.

Matt. vii.
20.

Spiritus autem hic Jesu Christi, quia largitur eis qui sunt in eo et esse spiritale et operationem, ideo singulis suis in ecclesia membris communicat certe et essentiam suam et virtutem. Et cuique membro ut unitur, ita præstat spiritale esse et operationem. Singulis autem unitur, et se communicat, sed varie pro varietate eorum quæ sibi uniuntur. Ex qua varia unitione sibi, varie existunt homines spiritales in uno spiritu: qui quum quæ sibi univit, eadem inter se digerit ordine et perunit, ex ea varietate eorum qui rite spiritu uniuntur, jucunda pulchritudo resultat in ecclesia, et Christi partibus (qui homines sunt, cives et domestici Dei), quæ constituunt civitatem Dei in Christo Jesu; qui civitatis dux est, cujus sapientia et imperio tota civitas regitur et gubernatur.

Quæ hominis societas in Christo Jesu, et civitas spiritalis, reformata forma Christi, et regenita feliciter spiritu Dei, est in se unum quoddam per formam Jesu Christi et spiritum

unum existentem in toto et partibus, et toti partibusque præsentem; qui facit consensum et concordiam partium inter se, quum unus et idem spiritus omnes simul conglutinat; a quo vita omnibus, et sensus, motus et actio spiritalis est; cujus præsentia vigent et agunt omnia, ducta spiritu molliter et suaviter; qui est ubique per totam ecclesiam, et totam undique implet vivifice et penetrat; ut quæ sunt membra suapte natura fluxa et labilia, in se devinciret firmiter et solidaret; ut stabilitate spiritus firmata, recta, et mota in ecclesia sint omnia.

Hoc divinum vinculum ecclesiæ in Christo Jesu vel spiritus ipse est Dei in Christo, vel ejus virtus conglutinans; quæ est ejusmodi in ecclesia, ferme cujusmodi coaguli virtus in lacte qua coagulatur; vel certe perinde se habet ut magnetis vis in ferro, qua trahitur ferrum et suspenditur. Omnes sumus tracti in spiritum Dei, ut ex spiritu Dei solo pendeamus, qui noster est quasi magnes, et horologii nostri temperatio; qui a spiritu mirabili ordine regimur, movemur et conservamur; qui supersubstantiales spiritus, quos in se contraxit, suaviter continet. Continet autem quos in se convocavit. Convocati sunt predestinati in hanc gratiam ante mundi constitutionem. Nam provisum erat hominem casurum. Atque post casum nihil aliud quam quiddam fluxum, infirmum, labens, evanescens in nihilum. Predestinatum fuit ex hac perdita materia aliud vas efficere ad honorem, aliud relinquere ad contumeliam. Predestinatum fuit hominem, qui decedit a deo, retrahi ad Deum non posse quidem, nisi per Deum factum hominem.

Deus homo factus medium erat quo homines dii fierent; cujus deitate deificantur omnes. Discripsit in sua ipsius persona rectam vivendi rationem hominibus. Mortuus est, ut liberos faceret homines ad talem vitam; ut, debita cujusque hominum in illius morte soluta, nunc desinentes peccare, deinceps *liberi sint justiciæ*; ut non amplius maneamus in peccato, cui modo sumus mortui morte Christi; in cujus morte baptizati sumus, et ejusdem sanguine lavati. Qui

Rom. vi. 4. fuimus, *consepultum est cum Christo in mortem*, ut nunquam postea appareat; et quod ablutum est sanguine illius, in ejus morte absconsum est. Mortuus autem est, ut moriantur

peccata nostra in illo ; ut non amplius peccemus, sed *in novitate vitæ ambulemus*. Persona peccatrix crucifixa est cum Christo ; cujus mors fuit pro peccatoribus. Ut ille ergo mortuus est pro peccatis, ut peccata nostra moriantur in nobis ; ita, qui credimus eum pro peccatis nostris inter-
 iisse, statim hæc credentes debemus facere finem peccandi ; ut nostra peccata in illius morte mortua esse videantur ; ut *complantati* (in qua plantatione, quod enascitur, prius moritur : *nisi enim granum cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet*) — *complantati* ergo, ut ait Paulus, *facti sumus similitudine mortis ejus* ; priusque moriamur in illo, ut deinde similes ei resurgenti simus. *Si enim complantati*, ut granum quod prius moritur, *facti sumus similitudini mortis illius*, tunc *simul et resurrectionis erimus*. Hoc est, si deposuerimus vetustatem, erimus renovati ; si mortalitatem, erimus immortales. Mortalitas peccatum est ; quo deposito, incipimus esse tanquam immortales ; *crucifixo veteri homine, et destructo corpore peccati mortalitatisque, ut ultra non serviamus peccato*, sed nunc deinceps in virtute dominemur.

Ioan. xii.
24.
Rom. vi. 5.

Nemo dominatur sursum, nisi prius desinat servire deorsum. Nemo reformatur in melius, nisi prius deposuerit formam in deterius. Nemo potest vivere, nisi prius moritur. Oportet omnes complantati simus, et hic incipiamus mortificationem ut vivamus. Quod si nolumus mori, non vivemus. *Si mortui simus cum Christo, credimus quia simul etiam vivemus cum Christo*. Mortuus semel *justificatus est a peccato*. Mortuus est Christus, ut non amplius appareat in nobis quod erat, sed abluatur sanguine Christi, et moriatur cum Christo, ac sepeliatur cum illo, omnisque in nobis vetustas aboleatur ; ut nunc deinceps oleamus nihil nisi in Christo novitatem, et immortalitatem in illo, qui ex mortuis resurrexit immortalis ; ut nos, relicta omnino via ad mortem, iniamus viam ad immortalitatem, incipiamusque nunc esse immortales, ad plenam immortalitatem, morte tota penitus destructa ; sicut antea incepimus esse peccando mortales, ad mortem consummatam, vita tota prorsus abducta.

Ib. vv. 8, 7.

Qui non est in morte Christi penitus mortuus, ei mors Christi nihil prodest ad vitam ; in quo vivente nemo vivit,

nisi prius in eodem moriatur: in quo nemo moritur, nisi in morte ejus, quicquid illius hominis, pro quo Christus mortuus est, in ea morte commoriatur. Mortuus est pro peccatis; oportet ergo persona peccatrix omnino cum Christo [moriatur]. Oportet enim moriatur in Christo totum illud in homine; illud dico, pro quo Christus mortuus est. Non est Christus mortuus pro substantia corporis, quæ bona est, et manebit in beatis; sed pro corporis peccatis. Ideo homo non se interficiet, sed peccatum in suo corpore omni ratione extinguet; ut id videatur in se emori, pro quo Christus mortuus semel, ut id semel moriatur et non reviviscat.

Rom. vi. 9. Quod si reviviscat, frustrasti mortem Christi, qui *resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur, et mors illi ultra non dominabitur*. Nam ut Christus semel mortuus resurrexit, ut non iterum moriatur; ita qui mortui sint cum Christo, deposuerintque id pro quo Christus mortuus est, ex baptismo et lotione sacra sic resurgere debemus, ut non iterum ad peccatum revertamur; ne videamur rursum mori; quod non est profecto Christiani, cujus est imitare Christum; ut semel mortui non incipiamus iterum esse mortales peccato, sed in immortalitate pergamus gratia. Qui *mortuus est peccato, mortuus est semel*, inquit Paulus: et certe semel mori debet peccatumque deponere; non amplius moriturus, sed victurus Deo. Nam qui vivit Deo, resurgens a mortali peccato in gratiam, immortalis in Christo Jesu. Destructo ergo dominio peccati et mortis, non residamus in illam servitutem, sed inserviamus justiciæ Deo; in gratia liberi; justi nunc, ut ex gratia juste vivamus.

Est dictum supra, ab essentia divini spiritus, et virtute in ecclesia, esse et esse spiritale et operationem: esse spiritale a divini spiritus essentia; operatio a divina virtute. Ipsa essentia Dei et spiritus fuit in Christo, et virtus simul Dei; unde exstitit ille Deus, et operatus est mirabiliter. Quibus vero est esse spiritale et operatio spiritalis, id eis est eo quod in Christo sunt; et in illius essentia sunt spiritales, et illius virtute agunt spiritaliter.

De hoc spiritu et virtute, unde animis electorum datum est esse spiritale et operatio, ita scribit Lucas in evangelio: —Angelum Gabriel dixisse Zachariæ sacerdoti, de filio na-

scituro Joanne; qui *repletus erat spiritu sancto adhuc ab utero matris suæ.* Angelus dixit: *Et ipse precedet ante illum in spiritu, et virtute Heliae;* ut sit spiritalis, opereturque spiritaliter, uti Helias. Postea, in civitate Galileæ Nazarethæ, idem Angelus, nuncians Mariæ Jesum, ex ea natum, *fore magnum et altissimi filium;* ostendens quomodo, dixit: *Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te, et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi; ideo quod ex te nascetur sanctum, vocabitur filius Dei.* Luc. i. 17.
Ib. ver. 32.
Ib. ver. 35.

Sunt in hoc spiritu Christi et virtute spiritaliter agentes homines. Sub essentia spiritus est esse spiritaliter; sub virtute operatio in omnibus Christianis. Sanctificamur et nascimur in Christo sancti, ut simul cum eo simus filii Dei. Hii sunt soli qui possunt videre Christum, qui illius spiritus participes credunt in Christo deitatem; *quod neque caro neque sanguis revelat, sed Pater Christi qui in celis est.* Qui quos regenuit spiritu suo sancto, eos fecit in filio suo spiritaliter; ut se in filio inspiciant oculo spiritali, quæ fides est; et ex Deo in Christo spiritaliter agent, quæ in voluntate charitas est Dei. Matt. xvi. 17.

Ita fides, quæ delectionem operatur, esse et virtus est in homine; regenitura Dei spiritalis, ex presentia spiritus Dei; qui totus est in singulis hominibus, et ex quolibet producit hominem spiritalem.

Hic spiritus, primum tamen¹ semen et *granum synapis*, apparuit ut radix et germen; deinde crevit ut arbor, et per omnes se ramos diffudit. In qua arbore fidei, cujus radix est Christus, pro fractis ramis alii inseruntur. Quod si rami exaruerint spiritu fugato, tum sese spiritus contrahit in radicem Christum; nec diutius manet quidem in ramis, quam rami ipsi spiritali unctione niteant, et spe Deo uniti clare Deo confidant. Quod quum labantur in se divisi, et siccati ut amputentur, tum spiritus vitalis se in radicem recipit et redit. Quia non extinguitur spiritus Dei; sed soluto statu unitatis, unus ille abit in unum Jesum Christum. Matt. xvii. 19.

¹ *Leg. tantum, vel tanquam.*

*SPIRITUS DEI IN CORPORE MYSTICO
SENTIT UBIQUE.*

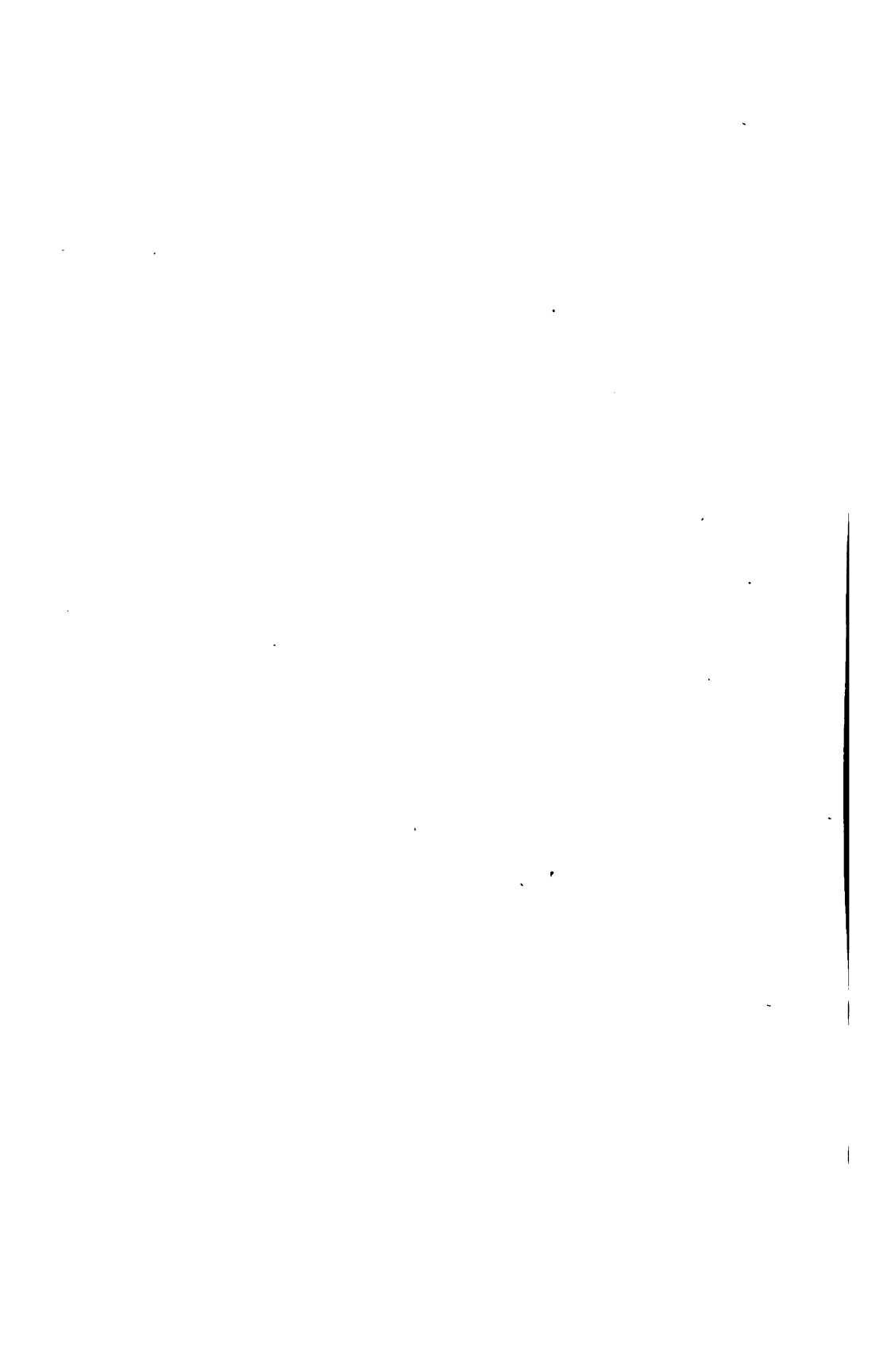
SPIRITUS sanctus cuilibet corporis parti adest, hominique in Christo cuilibet, totus certe; quia totus sentit cujuslibet partis corporalis passionem. Offenso enim quovis vel minimo in ecclesia, spiritus, ecclesiæ anima, sentit, et illuc spectat statim. Quod si offendatur pes ecclesiæ, oculus illuc se vertit; manus se admovent; os clamat præ dolore; reliqua similiter membra, hominesque spirituales, simul lesionem sentiunt. Tam est spiritus unus qui est in omnibus; tam sunt omnes in spiritu uno qui est Christi. Quod est in infimo membro, id idem est in omnibus. Hinc est quod sensus dolorque communis est, communeque gaudium. Atque ubi spiritus dolet, ubique dolet; ubi gaudet, simul ubique gaudet: id est, facit dolere et gaudere; quia ubique est unus; et ubi non est communis lesio, est tamen ex unitate spiritus communis sensus; quia spiritu omnia unum sunt in Deo, qui adest totus omnibus, in se unus, ut omnia in se uniantur, sensu, sapientia, voluntate, studiis, actionibusque communibus.

Ubi est scisma et divisio, ibi communis sensus non est et unus. Ubi autem unus est spiritus totus in omnibus, nihil potest in quavis particula Christi accidere, quin id ad totum Christi spiritum pertineat. Qui spiritus vitali intentione porrigitur per totum Christum; cujus spiritus omnibus partibus simul adest intime, totus singulis; spiritificans deificansque membra hominesque vocatos, aliquos vero intensius, aliquos remissius; communionem spiritus eos sic cunctans, ut quod non accidit in toto, in toto tamen sentiatur.

Unde constat, totam vim illam indicariam spiritus, una cum tota ipsius spiritus substantia, singulis membris hominibusque esse presentem; ut, quicquid ubique sit, statim ab omnibus in ecclesia sentiatur; compatianturque omnia simul membra et consonent; ac spiritus latenti imperio adhibeant læsæ parti medelam e vestigio omnes homines: in quibus

quod in uno quoque est, id idem est in omnibus; varie apparens propter varia illustramenta.

Divisiones gratiarum sunt multæ, unus autem spiritus; 1 Cor. xii. qui intentius et remissius se insinuat variis hominibus, totus ^{4.} tamen et unus ubique, et in omnibus; ut compatiantur una omnia et concurrant.





EPISTOLÆ B. PAULI AD ROMANOS
EXPOSITIO LITERALIS.



*SCRIPTA IOANNIS COLET, PROFESSORIS THEOLOGICÆ,
IN EPISTOLAM DIVI PAULI AD ROMANOS.*

PROCEMIUM.

IN epistola quam Apostolus Paulus scripsit ad Romanos, hominibus illic Christiani nominis pacem suadet et concordiam.

Nam in illis tres erant contentiones: una Judeorum cum gentibus; secunda Christianorum cum paganis; tertia in ipsa Christianitate fortiorum in fide cum infirmioribus.

Gentes enim et Judei mutuo se accusabant, et vicissim alter alteri se preferebat arrogantius. Verum insolentia Judeorum erat et major et superbior; qui magni se existimabant ob legem eis datam a Deo.

Quamobrem Paulus, se ponens medium ut tantam litem dirimat, quanquam plurima afferat quæ premant gentium superbiam, tamen in Judeos se vertit maxime, confertque in illam partem sermonem suum et copiosiore et acriorem. Erat enim Judeus durioris cervicis, jugo humilitatis semper reluctantis.

Utrumque, et Judeum et gentilem, conatur Paulus trahere altius supra omnem gentilitatem et Judaismum, ac locare ambos et figere in uno Christo Jesu; qui unus sufficit, qui est omnia, in quo solo salus est hominum et justificatio. Ex quibus, Judeo scilicet et gentili pariter, quum constituerit ecclesiam, tum describit quænam illa Christianorum ecclesia sit, et quibus offitiis et actionibus.

Christiani autem Romæ quomodo se gerant erga paganos, in quorum medio tunc erant et vivebant, sub potestate illorum;—videlicet, quatenus eos ferant injuriantes, et quousque tributum pendant exactum; multa erat multorum

altercatio. Paulus ergo in hac parte prudenter docet pacem et obedientiam.

In tercio dissidio et contentione quæ erat in ecclesia, Christianorum fortiorum in fide cum infirmioribus, ubi infirma conscientia timiduli dedignati sunt audaciam fortiorum; audaces vero, freti opinione conscientie suæ, infirmos despexerunt (discordia autem erat in escarum degustacione, quousque liceat progredi in ciborum generibus. Judeorum ritu vetita erant multa. Idolotita quidem, id est, immolata idolis, quamplurimi exhorruerunt; fuerunt tamen qui quod arbitrati sunt sibi licuisse in hac re fecerunt audacter, degustaveruntque passim quod libuerit eis; homines parum prudentes, parum considerati; cum magno scandalo et offensione infirmorum):—hic ergo Paulus tradit, piam rationem infirmorum habendam, et audaci facto, etiam in eo quod liceat, non esse percellendam mentem imbecillioris et conscientiam; vitandum scandalum; querendam edificacionem; pacem servandam compositis litibus.

In quarum prima suadet humilitatem, in secunda patientiam, in tercia charitatem.

Postquam reddiderit rationem scriptarum litterarum, et promiserit se venturum aliquando ad Romanos, concludit tandem epistolam cum commendationibus et salutationibus.

Rom. i. 1. Primum salutat Romanos: in qua salutatione ostendit se *vocatum et segregatum* apostolum, ut denuntiet Filium Dei, qui est Deus et homo, Jesus; homo ex corruptibili *semine David*, sed *ostensus Filius Dei ex resurrectione* sua a mortuis. Homo mortuus erat; Deus resurrexit potenti gloria. Erat infirmus ea parte quam traxit ab homine, sed potens parte ea quam habuit coeternam Deo; qua *secundum spiritum* surrexit in virtute, et vivit jam in celo immortalis. Per quem immortalem Jesum vocabatur Paulus in servitutum Dei; ut apostolus in gracia obediat legi fidei, verbumque fidei edoceat universos.

ver. 16. Ostendit deinde eis se gratulari de fide illorum, et orare pro illis, desiderareque valde venire ad illos, ut seminet spiritalem gratiam, messurus justicie fructus in vitam eternam: debitum suum officium esse evangelizare universis: evangelium *virtutem Dei esse credentibus: in eo revelari justiciam fidei*, et in eodem *revelari iram Dei* incredulis;

maxime vero illis qui, cognoscentes Deum, idola coluerunt tamen et turpiter vixerunt.

Cognoverunt gentiles Deum ex creaturis: Judei cognoverunt Deum ex lege et eloquiis Dei. Deus enim sese docuit tum per creaturas quæ *enarrant gloriam Dei*, tum per eloquia. Hi duo sunt libri Dei. Creaturarum liber propositus apertus erat philosophis gentilium: liber eloquiorum Dei traditus erat magnatibus Judeorum. Tamen ambo, *cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum eum glorificaverunt*, nec ut sapientes in Deo vixerunt. Negligentes impii in omne genus flagitii corruerunt, pereuntes in ipsis, et *facientes et consentientes facientibus*. Pa. xviii. 1.
ver. 21.
ver. 32.

Nemo suscipiat in se magnum Dei officium predicandi, nisi vocatus in id divina gratia, et a Deo ipso institutus.

Homo predicator non aliquo se conferat, nisi ea mente ut *imparciatur gratiam suam spiritalem*, vel verbo vel exemplo; fructus ut inde nascantur iusticiæ. ver. 11.

Neglecta religione labuntur homines miserrime in omne genus flagitii.

Omnium virtutum fons est pietas cultusque veri Dei.

Philosophorum sapientia, quatenus aliquid veri cognoverint, ex revelatione Dei erat. *Deus enim*, inquit Paulus, *illis revelavit quod notum est Dei*. ver. 19.

Non solum committere malum, sed quoquo modo consentire committenti, mortale est.

Celestis Pater, creator omnium, docuit homines quantus est ipse per suas creaturas; *invisibiliaque* et intelligibilia manifestavit per creaturam sensibilem; etiam illam ipsam suam divinitatem, factricem omnium, *per ea quæ facta sunt*. In mundo creaturarum, tanquam in quodam libro, contemplatores rerum philosophi facile poterant Deum agnoscere, et cognitum ex creaturis creatorem colere. ver. 20.

Hæc erat magna Dei bonitas, primum se evidenter ostendere per creaturas; multo vero major postea per verba; maxime autem postremo per Filium ipsum. Filium enim eternum suum diu ante per prophetas promisit venturum in mundum. Prophetæ enim predixerunt in spiritu, evangelium fore Filii Dei in mundo, per quem omnia a Patre procedant ad homines: atque uti erat promissum, ita suo tempore evenit.

Dominus Jesus Christus Filius est Dei, medius inter Deum Patrem et homines filios; per quem omnia prodeunt a Deo Patre nostro ad nos filios, et per eundem omnia a nobis ad Deum Patrem redeunt. Is est cujus evangelium et revelatio erat promissa. Is est Deus, is est homo; Deus ex Deo, homo ex homine: filius hominis secundum carnis corruptionem, in infirmitate, *factus ex semine David* moribundus cum moriturus; Filius autem Dei secundum sanctificationem, in virtute, ostensus ex resurrectione mortuorum, qui ipse primus resurrexit.

ver. 4. *Spiritus sanctificationis*, ut hic Paulus vocat, spiritus ipse est sanctus Dei, qui sanctificat, vivificat, gratificat, pacificat Deo. Ideo *gracia est et pax* hominum, quæ procedat pariter a Patre et a Filio; quam totiens Paulus optat eis ad quos scribit. Is ipse venerandus amor est Dei, amantificans homines, faciensque eos amabiles tum Deo tum hominibus, et sibi et aliis, in amore Dei.

ver. 9. Paulus *vocatus et segregatus servivit Deo Patri in spiritu suo, in evangelio Filii Dei*; orans Deum in timore, docens homines in amore: debitor erat universis ex officio. Non erubuit evangelium Christi, tametsi *gentibus stultitia, Judeis scandalum* erat. Desideravit et petivit a Deo ut tuto veniret ad Romanos, et hoc sæpe quidem; ut *impertiretur illis aliquid suæ gratiæ spiritualis*.

Hoc est officium apostolici viri Christi, in Christo orare et docere; seminare, ut metat fructus justiciæ; laborare, ut quam plurimi veniant in lucem evangelii Christi, qui illuminentur et spiritificentur in ipso.

ver. 2. *Evangelium Dei* erat promissum a Deo Patre per prophetas in scripturis de Filio suo; videlicet Filium venturum fuisse aliquando in carne, et revelaturum omnia quæ erant necessaria ad salutem. Est evangelium *virtus Dei omni credenti in salutem*, potens eum justificare. *Justicia Dei revelatur in eo* et ira: justitia autem fidei, non rationis gentium, nec legis Judeorum; sed inquam justitia simplicis fidei, longe supra omnem rationem et legem; qua credentes justi fiant, dummodo in fide imitantes Christum bene operentur. Ira autem *Dei revelatur* in evangelio, et juditium condemnatioque plane predicatur omnibus impiis et irreligiosis; qui

quoquo modo Deum cognoscentes iniquiter simulachra coluerunt.

Christiani sunt homines, qui gracia Dei vocantur mirifice, ut sanctificentur, sanctique delectabiles sint filii Dei pulchri in Christo Jesu pulchrificante; qui erat pulcherrimus in terra, *speciosus forma præ filiis hominum*. Hi sunt horrei triticum, et ex tritico¹ semila sinceritatis; ut ex eis candidus fiat panis Dei. Vocantur fideles justī in fide, sperantes in Deo oculo simplicissimo: splendent gracia: spiritu Dei boni sunt: in liquido Dei spiritu sub sole justiciæ tuto et magnifice incedunt ad vitam eternam. Pa. xlv. 3.

Sapientes mundi, illi qui philosophati sunt contemplantes in libro creaturarum, illic plane legerunt Deum unum et omnipotentem et eternum. Atque vel quod illi de Deo cognoverunt *notum est Dei*, vel quodcunque de Deo cognosci potest ab hominibus, indicantibus creaturis. Cognoverunt saltem illum esse creatorem ac factorem omnium; et profecti a sensu venerunt in intellectum et in Deum: sed impii cognitum Deum non coluerunt. In sapientia sua irreligiosi erant valde Deo, et injusti hominibus. Nam coluerunt simulachra, et inique vixerunt: in lumine frigebant: in sapientia pessimi erant: in verbis gloriosi, in factis stultissimi.

Frustra et inaniter cognoscimus, si ex illa cognitione non colamus Deum rito, et legitime cum hominibus vivamus.

Censetur vera et solida sapientia ex fructu actionis Deo et hominibus.

Viva sapientia facit hominem humiliter colore Deum, et temperanter vivere, et amanter prodesse hominibus.

Illi philosophiculi mundi, negligentes Deum, deciderunt in stultitiam et malitiam, *traditi in desideria cordis, in passionēs ignominiae, in reprobū sensum*. vv. 24, 26.

Irreligiositas negligentiaque Dei omnium malorum fons est.

Vera religio per Jesum Christum radix omnis boni est.

¹ Tritici, MS.

COMMENTARIA IN DIVUM PAULUM IOANNIS COLET
DECANI SANCTI PAULI.

CAP. I.

PROPTEREA quod Romani adhuc illum non viderint, nec ipse illos; ne mirentur secumque dicant, Quisnam sit iste qui tam multis ad nos scribit? in fronte epistolæ presefert et ostendit quis est; dicens, *servus Jesu Christi*: id est, cultor Jesu. Hoc nomine captavit benevolentiam a Christianis illis ad quos scripsit, qui jamdudum ceperunt colere Christum. Addit, *vocatus, apostolus*; quasi diceret, non solum servus, ut omnes Christiani, sed etiam *apostolus*, id est, missus. Vocor enim a gracia imperatrice ad numerum eorum qui mittantur. Verum quia pluribus de causis potest homo vocari ut mittatur, subjungit: *segregatus in evangelium Dei*; significans ex grege dimissorum se segregatum esse ad hoc duntaxat, ut evangelizet feratque bonum Dei [nuntium] de Filio suo Salvatore ad omnes gentes.

Act. xiii. 2. Lucas refert in Actibus: Spiritus dixit Antiochiæ, *Segre- gate mihi Saulum* (id est, Paulum) *et Barnabam in opus, ad quod assumpsi eos*. Item Damasci, dicens Ananiæ, *Vade* (inquit) *ad Paulum, quoniam vas electionis est mihi iste, ut portet nomen meum coram gentibus, et regibus, et filiis Israel*. Idem testatur ipse Paulus, de se scribens ad Corinthios; dicens: *Non enim misit me Christus baptizare, sed evangelizare*.

1 Cor. i. 17.

Evangelium bonum nuntium est mundo de Christo Jesu, in quo solo omnis est ratio salutis eis qui volunt salvi fieri. Et est illud nuntium quod Deus misit in mundum per apostolos; iccirco vocatur *evangelium Dei, quod ante promiserat per prophetas suos in scripturis sanctis de Filio suo*.—Primum statuit hoc fieri ante constitutionem mundi, et erat alta mente repositum: tum dixit per prophetas: postremo venit Filius in carne, uti predictum erat.

Rom. i. 1, 2.

Hoc dixit, ut Judei Jesum admittant, qui prophetas audierunt. Gentes etiam acquieverunt magis hoc verbo, audientes, quod acceperunt de Jesu, id sæpe ante predictum fuisse. Nova enim, quorum antecessit nulla ratio, eo momento quo audita sunt respuuntur.

Qui factus est ei ex semine David secundum carnem. Erat ver. 3.
 Jesus Christus *secundum carnem* et *secundum spiritum*. Erat homo; erat Deus. Erat mortuus homo ex infirmitate; resurrexit Deus ex virtute. Fatetur plane Jesum Deum fuisse; et hominem fuisse secundum carnem et humanam naturam. Ex semine David, in Virgine Maria (quæ erat ex Davitica stirpe), *Verbum caro factum erat.*

Ioan. i. 14.

Qui predestinatus est Filius Dei in virtute, secundum spiritum sanctificationis, ex resurrectione mortuorum, Jesu Christi Domini nostri. Qui idem Jesus Christus, Filius Dei, *secundum spiritum sanctificationis*, et partem ejus spiritalem supra hominem qua Deus erat, *predestinatus* et ostensus est *Filius Dei*, et vere Deus, *in virtute*, magna potentia, *ex resurrectione mortuorum Jesu Christi*, ex hoc quod tercio die tam gloriose resurrexit ipse sua ipsius virtute et potentia a mortuis; quæ resurrectio prima erat Jesu Christi, qui erat *primitiæ dormientium*. Ex hoc enim quod Jesus Christus resurrexit a mortuis, et jam vivit in celo immortalis, apparet illum evidenter Filium Dei esse; *per quem accepimus gratiam et apostolatam*—per Jesum, modo immortalem et gloriosum in celo, qui talis apparuit Paulo: alii apostoli erant vocati a Jesu morituro: *ad obediendum fidei in omnibus gentibus*, ut omnes gentes vocet ad legem fidei. Nam sui officii effectus erat efficere homines credere in Christo et humiliter sperare in Deo, ut spe salvi fiant; *pro nomine ejus* Jesu Christi, per quem est via ad salutem humiliter obedientibus Deo. *In quibus*, qui humiliter credunt Deo in Christo, *estis* ver. 6.
 et etiam vos Romani, *vocati Jesu Christi*; non viribus vestris profecti, sed vocati mistico tractu ut pertineatis ad Christum, sitisque illius.

1 Cor. xv. 20.

ver. 5.

Omnibus qui sunt Romæ.—Erant illic ex Judeis et gentibus, *dilectis Dei*, quos dilexit Deus, et diligendo vocavit, *vocatis sanctis*, qui vocantur ut sancte vivant in sancto Deo. Intelligit illic omnes Christianæ professionis, quæ est sanc-

ver. 7.

titatis. *Gratia vobis et pax a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo.*

Salutans Romanos Christianos, optat illis *graciam et pacem* (id est, gratiosam pacem), a Deo Patre simul et a Deo Filio; quæ procedat in illos tanquam Spiritus Sanctus ab utroque. Illis verbis optat illis plenitudinem Spiritus Sancti; ut vocati a Deo Patre per Jesum Filium in pace Spiritus vivant. Nec ab re velit et optat eis spiritalem pacem; quoniam triplex erat tunc dissidium in Romana ecclesia: una Judeorum cum gentibus; altera fidelium cum paganis; tertia in ipsis fidelibus fortiorum in fide cum infirmioribus.

Hæc de salutatione.

ver. 8. *PRIMUM quidem gratias ago Deo meo, quem ego colo modo spiritali, quem voco meum ex amore.—Intelligit Deum Patrem, qui voluit Paulum suum esse filium; qui omnium est Deus, sed affectus nimius appropriat aliquando.—Per Jesum Christum. Omnia sunt a Patre ad nos, et a nobis ad illum, per Jesum Christum; medium idoneum, quia Deum et hominem. Quicquid enim cum Deo agimus, vel petentes quippiam vel gratias agentes, id fit a nobis per mediatorem Dei et hominum Jesum Christum:—pro omnibus vobis, fidelibus, qui credentes in Christo speratis in Deo, quia fides vestra annuntiatur in universo mundo:—increbuit fama ubivis gentium, Jesum Christum auditum esse a Romanis quam plurimis.*

ver. 9. *Testis est mihi Deus genus jusjurandi est: vocatur Deus in testimonium in rebus magnis et minus cognitis. Cui servio in spiritu meo—colo spiritualiter, non carnaliter, uti Judei faciunt; quorum omnis observantia et religio carnalis est. Samaritanæ mulieri dixit Jesus: venit hora, et nunc est, quando veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate. Nam et Pater tales querit qui adorent eum. Spiritus est Deus: et eos, qui adorent eum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare. In evangelio Filii ejus, in quod segregor, ut predicem Jesum Filium Dei.—In hoc quoque servirent episcopi et prelati in his diebus, si saperent; non*

Ioan. iv.
23, 24.

regibus et principibus terrenis ; quibus, relinquentes honorificum concionandi officium, et episcopis peculiare, prosternunt se tanquam vilissima mancipia : suspitentur magis regem in aulis, quam Deum in ecclesiis.—*Quod sine intermissione memoriam vestri facio semper in orationibus meis :* inter deprecandum semper venitis mihi in mentem :—*obsecrans*, magno desiderio, *si quo modo*—quocunque—*tandem*—postremo—*aliquando*—in aliquo tempore—*prosperum iter habeam in voluntate Dei veniendi ad vos* tuto et sine periculo, et etiam ad perceptionem alicujus fructus in vobis. ver. 10.

Vehementer desiderabat Romanos invisere, ut illuc quoque sentiret fructum officii sui. Quapropter addit : *Desidero enim videre vos, ut aliquid vobis spiritualis gratiae* ver. 11. *impartiar.* Desiderium veniendi ad illos non erat carnale, ad aliquod commodum aut voluptatem temporalem, sed spiritale, ut acceptum Spiritum Sanctum cum illis communicet. Et ne Romani dedignabundi secum cogitent accepisse se et habere gratiam spiritalem, modificat se Paulus ne offendant illos, et sobrie addit, *ad confirmandos eos ;* et ne id quoque ledat, subjungit mollius, inquit, *et* ver. 12. *simul consolari in vobis ;* quasi diceret, nec docendi nec confirmandi vos istuc velim venire, sed consolationis gratia ; *per eam quæ invicem est fidem vestram atque meam ;* per communem nostram fidem ; ut mutuo consermocinantes de dulcissimo Jesu et spe nostra in ipso, in gratia Dei omnem consolationem capiamus.

Mollihus et suavibus palmis attractat illos Paulus in principio, ut ad reliqua audienda benivolos reddat. Erat enim Paulus, ut omnium optimus, ita re vera omnium consideratissimus ; pro personis, pro rebus, pro locis, pro temporibus ; verba sua ad maximam utilitatem mira quadam prudentia accommodans.

Nolo autem vos ignorare, fratres, filii Dei mecum in ver. 13. *Christo, sed cognoscere, quia sepe proposui venire ad vos* istuc Romæ, *sed prohibitus sum usque adhuc ;* hactenus impeditus negotiis assiduis, continua predicatione et institutione ecclesiarum. Preclari archiepiscopi officium egit Paulus, cum luce in manibus a civitate in civitatem discurrens sedulo, ut illuminet et inflammet mundum fide et

amore Dei in Jesu Christo. *Ut aliquem fructum habeam in vobis, sicut in ceteris gentibus; fructum veræ justitiæ et religionis. Seminator sum ut metam: spargo ut colligam: hoc est meum officium ad quod delegor. Grecis et barbaris, sapientibus (hoc refer ad Grecos, qui arrogaverunt sibi sapientiam), et insipientibus (hoc refer ad barbaros, qui habiti erant expartes politioris sapientiæ), debitor sum: quasi diceret, omni hominum generi incumbit mihi ex officio predicare. Inquit idem ad Corinthios: Necessitas enim mihi incumbit; vœ enim mihi est, si non evangelizavero. Ita —et ita debitor sum—quod in me promptum est, quod sum paratissimus, et—etiam—vobis, qui Romæ estis, qui estis principes orbis terrarum, evangelizare; et afferre hoc bonum nuntium Dei de Christo Filio suo, testificareque illum Romæ, quod est caput gentium.*

Non enim erubescō evangelium, nec confundor in ipso, quasi res stulta et infirma esset, ut videtur stultis. Cognosco quidnam sit. Virtus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti. Potentiam Dei predicamus per Christum in homines, qua justificat credulos gratia, vi incredulos condemnat. Nihil, inquam, potentius in terris apparuit, quam Jesus moriens morte illa quæ vicit mortem. Hæc res gentibus stultitia, Judeis scandalum, videbatur (ut Paulus ad Corinthios scribit); sed nobis vocatis est Dei virtus et sapientia. In eo enim quod predicatur de Christo salvamur, dummodo credamus.—Judeo primum et Greco.

Id honoris semper dat Paulus Judeis, ut eos gentibus anteponat; non quod Deus accipit personas, sed quod in collatione graciæ ordine utatur, habeatque aliquos primos, ubi incipiat dimittere ignem in terram; qui erant Judei. Jesus inquit, non veni nisi ad oves, primum, qui perierunt domus Israel. Quanquam ex omnibus ubivis gentium sine distinctione sit collectio ad Deum, tamen oportet sit ubi hoc opus incipiat, ut justo ordine procedat gracia. Propter antiquissimam familiaritatem Dei cum Judeis, quos sibi delegit in populum peculiarem, primum se illis obtulit Christus; deinceps gentes pari gracia prosecuturus.

Justicia enim Dei in eo evangelio revelatur ex fide in fidem. Evangelio credentes salvantur, quia in eo revelatur

ea justitia per quam solam est salus, quæ quidem justitia est fidei. Salvabuntur homines non justitia ex lege, sed justitia ex fide; quia justitia ex fide revelatur in evangelio; predicaturque in eo non aliam esse spem salutis, nisi in fide Jesu Christi, et simplice spe in misericordia Dei. Quod addit *in fidem*, ingenue fateor me nescire quid velit; nisi forsitan quia modo dicebat *primum Judeo. et Greco*, innuat quendam ordinem fidei; quæ prima cepit in Judeis, tum derivabatur ad gentes: ut intelligamus justiciam ex fide, inchoatam in Judeis, porrexisse deinde in fidem gentium. Quod autem justitia hominum ex fide est, non ex lege, probat subjuncta autoritate: *Scriptum est*, inquit, *justus ex fide vivit*. Vita eterna erit ex justitia fidei sola. Hab. ii. 4.

Annotandum est hoc loco quam simplex allegatio erat apostolorum, si quid ex veteri testamento commemoraverint. Hæc nostra quæ in modo in usu est, et apud recentiores theologos et leguleios, tam capitulatim undecunque testimoniorum citatio, ex ignorantia orta est hominum, sibi suæque doctrinæ diffidentium; veriti alioquin ne eis credatur, et sua ipsorum conscientia cadentes, nisi istiusmodi adminiculis sustineantur. Deinde eo progressa est hæc sollicita et anxiosa testimoniorum productio, ut plerique ad laudem memoriæ in his assidui sint, et quasi jactantes se hæc commemorant, delectanturque congerie dictorum ab aliis; in quibus magis student numero quam aptitudini; ut multa legisse multaque meminisse videantur.

Homo autem suæ sapientiæ conscius, sibi que confisus, bonus scriba qui habet quod *proferat ex thesauro suo nova et vetera*, vel scribens vel loquens, audatius et magnificentius incedit; citatque aliunde, si quando citet, et rarius et simplicius, et id quodque ex remotiore antiquitate; nihil se jactans, nihil aliorum judicium¹ timens: id quod Paulus et apostoli, et post eos ad octingentos annos quam plures graves theologi, fecerunt. Sed revertamus ad propositum. Matt. xiii. 52.

Revelatur enim ira Dei de celo super omnem impietatem, et injusticiam hominum. Altera ratio est quamobrem Paulus non erubescat evangelium. Nam duas rationes reddit: ver. 18.

¹ Judiciorum, MS.

unam istam quam modo dicebat, quæ spectat ad misericordiam Dei prepotentem et justificantem credulos ex fide; alteram hanc quæ pertinet ad iram Dei justiciamque vindicantem, quæ etiam revelatur in evangelio. Namque veritas Christi non solum clamat misericordiam humilibus, sed etiam iram superbis. Et ipse quoque Christus, ut vaticinatus est

Luc. ii. 34. Symeon ille senex, *positus erat in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum*. In cujus persona etiam David loquutus sic

Ps. c. 1. scripsit: *Misericordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine*.

Ib. ver. 6. Quatenus spectat ad misericordiam, addidit propheta: *Oculi mei ad fideles terræ*. Quatenus vero ad iudicium, subdidit:

Ib. ver. 8. *In matutino interficiebam omnes peccatores terræ, ut disperdam de civitate Domini omnes operantes iniquitatem*. Hæc est ira Dei quæ revelatur in evangelio. Deus non irascitur, sed homoculus de Deo loquitur more humano, ut Deus de homine more divino; tribuitque Deo affectus hominis. Verum irasci Deum non miserere est; iraque illius est justa et severa sententia puniendi peccatores. Hæc revelatur fore de celo *super omnem impietatem in Deum, et injusticiam in homines* (tamen hæc duo verba confunduntur)—*hominum eorum, qui veritatem Dei injusticia detinent*; qui in cognitione non colunt, in sapientia non boni sunt, in lumine non calent, ex radice scientiæ non fructificant. Intellige sapientes et philosophos mundi, qui scientes multa irreligiose et injuste vixerunt.

ver. 19. *Quia quod notum est Dei* ab illis, et id quod de Deo cognoverunt,—quod quidem suis viribus et sola vestigatione non cognoverunt, sed manifestatione Dei. *Nemo cognovit quæ sunt Dei nisi Spiritus Dei*: ideo addit—*manifestum est illis*, id est, manifestatum et manifestum factum in illis, ex revelatione. *Deus enim illis* revelavit quicquid de ipso noverint. Revelavit autem per suas creaturas; quæ procul dubio bonum et pulchrum et potentem creatorem testificantur, eundem et unum et eternum. Illatenus progressa est perscrutatio philosophorum; quocirca infert: *Invisibilia enim ipsius*—

ver. 20. *Dei creatoris*—*a creatura mundi*—ab homine, qui vocatur in scripturis sæpe *creatura*: ab homine mundano, *per ea quæ facta sunt*, creata et sensibilia, *invisibilia Dei intellecta*—per intellectum—*conspiciuntur*: quasi diceret, per sensibilia

creatura mundi, id est, homo in hoc mundo, insensibilia et invisibilia Dei potest aliquatenus intelligere.

Hac via ad cognoscendum Deum ingressi sunt philosophi; quoniam omnis illorum cognitio ortum habuit a sensu, et tandem per visum et conspectum hunc mundum intellexerunt invisum Deum; quoniam, ut Joannes testatur, *Deum nemo vidit nec videre potest. Super pennas ventorum*, inquit propheta, *posuit tenebras latibulum suum*. Et alio loco ait Paulus illum *habitare lucem inaccessibilem*. Verum aliquo usque pervenerunt philosophi docentibus creaturis, intellectoque viderunt invisibilia Dei, *sempiternam quoque ejus virtutem et divinitatem*: id est, *creatura mundi*, homo philosophus, per ea quæ facta sunt potuit facile videre Deum et omnipotentem et sempiternum. Tantam enim machinam mundi et moliri et fabricare non poterat infirma aliqua creatura et mortalis: *ita ut sint inexcusabiles*. Nemo mundi, nulla creatura humana potuit se excusare de impietate et injusticia sua per ignorantiam Dei, quem unum omnipotentem et eternum demonstraverunt quæ facta sunt; sed accusanda est humana natura idolatra; *quia, quum cognovissent Deum factorem*, per ea quæ facta sunt, *non sicut Deum glorificaverunt*,—clarificaverunt, aut clarum reddiderunt cultu et confessione—*nec gratias egerunt de beneficiis acceptis, sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis*, et ad vana deciderunt, *et obscuratum est insipiens cor eorum*, privatum lumine sapientiæ. *Dicentes enim se esse sapientes*, et Deum cognovisse, *stulti facti sunt re et effecta*, idolatria obtenebrante cultuque simulachrorum tenebricoso.

Et mutaverunt gloriam Dei incorruptibilis, cultum et clarificationem, *in similitudinem imaginis*, in falsam culturam imaginis; facientes imaginibus quod facerent Deo; imaginibus, inquam, *corruptibilis hominis, et volucrum, et quadrupedum, et serpentum*. Hæc vanitas et superstitio erat apud gentes in diversis mundi partibus, passim mentes hominum tenebrensens: *propter quod*, quia relicto Deo converterunt se ad imagines, *tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis eorum*. Relinquentes Deum relinquuntur in propria desideria, *in passionibus ignominiae, in reprobum sensum*. Hinc, videlicet ex neglecta religione cultuque veri Dei, malorum fons; hinc

Ioan. i. 18.

1 Tim. vi. 16.

Ps. xvii.

11, 12.

1 Tim. vi.

16.

ver. 21.

ver. 22.

ver. 23.

ver. 24.

vv. 26, 28.

scelerum scaturigines; hinc mortes morientium. In idolatria perditus erat mundus: corruerunt homines in cogitationes immundissimas, *ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua in semetipsis*, et polluant impudica et nephanda libidine, quam paulopost narrat ipse planius: in quod flagitium inciderunt, *qui commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium; et coluerunt et servierunt creaturæ potius quam Creatori, qui est benedictus in secula. Amen. Propterea tradidit illos in passiones ignominie, turpes affectiones. Nam femine eorum immutaverunt naturalem usum in eum usum, qui est contra naturam. Similiter autem et masculi, relicto naturali usu femine, exarserunt in desideriis suis in vicem, masculi in masculos turpitudinem operantes.*

Consulto conniventibus oculis hunc locum preterimus, ne in re turpissima vagantes latius, oratione forsan parum pudica usi, castas simplicium mentes offendamus. Hunc locum quando explanavi viva voce meo Edmundo, eximia verecundia adolescenti, ad cujus instructionem hanc litteralem expositionem aggressus sum, postquam aliquot verba fecerim, profecto pudebunde, enarrans peccati illius execrandum facinus, tandem interrogavi puerum intellexerit ne ejusmodi quod Paulus velit dicere. Ille se ne suspicari quidem posse respondit quid nam illud esset apud Paulum, *masculi in masculos turpitudinem operantes*. Itaque delectatus simplicitate adolescentis obticui evestigio; ne disceret, quod ignorare melius esset ei quam sapere.

Et sicut non probaverunt Deum habere in notitia, tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum, ut faciant ea quæ non conveniant. Ostenderunt facto et idolatria se Deum ignorare, repleti his malis quæ sequuntur:

vv. 29—31.	<i>Iniquitate,</i>	<i>Dolo,</i>	<i>Inventores malorum,</i>
	<i>Malitia,</i>	<i>Malignitate,</i>	<i>Non obedientes parentibus,</i>
	<i>Fornicatione,</i>	<i>Susurrone,</i>	<i>Inspientes,</i>
	<i>Avaritia,</i>	<i>Detractores,</i>	<i>Incompositi,</i>
	<i>Nequitia,</i>	<i>Deo odibiles,</i>	<i>Sine affectione,</i>
	<i>Invidia,</i>	<i>Contumeliosi,</i>	<i>Absque federe,</i>
	<i>Homicidio,</i>	<i>Superbi,</i>	<i>Sine misericordia,</i>
	<i>Contentione,</i>	<i>Elati,</i>	<i>In cognitione stulti.</i>

ver. 32. Ignari quod qui talia agunt, digni sunt morte; non solum

qui ea faciunt, sed etiam qui consentiunt facientibus; vel approbantes vel non reclamantes. Nam ista silere et non reprehendere peccatum mortale est.

Quoniam hæc in primo capite dicantur a Paulo precipue in gentes idolatras, tamen eadem accommodare possunt Judeis. Paulus scribens nonnihil spectavit ad illos; apud quos omne genus vitii emanavit ex illo fonte, videlicet negligentia religionis; quod pro sapientia eorum Deum non coluerunt. Nam ut *creatura mundi* intellexit creatorem *per ea quæ facta sunt*, ita Judei non solum per ea quæ facta sunt, sed multo magis per ea quæ scripta sunt, id est, per scripturas eîs relictas, et per *eloquia Dei*, intelligere poterunt; quoniam *multiphariis multisque modis loquutus est* Heb. i. 1. *Deus patribus*. Nihilominus tamen ex vero Dei cultu deciderunt, unde omnis in eis provenit iniquitas; et peccata, quæ meminit Paulus, in illis regnaverunt. Veritatem Dei in mendatio vitæ tenuerunt: *dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti* ver. 22. *facti sunt*. Relicto Deo converterunt se ad idola et vanitates; propter quod *tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis* ver. 26. *sui; in passiones ignominie; in reprobum sensum*. Hæc erat ira Dei.

Tribus viis et rationibus docuit Deus homines: per suam creaturam sensibilem; per spiritalem et angelicam; per Deum ipsum Filium suum sibi coeternum. Per creaturam sensibilem demonstravit se omni creaturæ, id est, omni homini. Per angelicos spiritus multo manifestius et per verba ostendit se electis Judeis. Per Filium factum hominem multo clarissime et familiarissime aperuit se electissimis Christianis. Ad Hebreos est a Paulo scriptum: *novissime* Heb. i. 2. *diebus istis loquutus est nobis in Filio, quem constituit heredem universorum, per quem fecit omnia*. Preter cognitionem quam habere possumus ex creaturis, cum universa creatura mundi, et cognitionem ex scripturis ministratam per angelos, quam habemus cum Judeis; est nobis Christianis multo eminentior sapientia et cognitio Dei per *unigenitum Filium*, Ioan. i. 18. *qui est ex sinu Patris; qui ipse enarravit omnia*.

Quapropter, si ira Dei erit in eos gentiles, *qui veritatem Dei in injusticia tenuerunt*, docti per creaturas; item in Judeos edoctos per angelos et eloquiis Dei; quanta tum ira

ver. 18.

Dei erit in nos Christianos, quos Filius ipse edocuit, si nos *veritatem Dei in injusticia teneamus?* si pro ratione cognitionis Deum non colamus? *Deus enim manifestavit nobis. Invisibilia namque ipsius a nobis, nova creatura mundi, vel potius celi, non solum per ea quæ facta sunt, et scripta, sed per dicta Filii intellecta conspitiuntur: sempiterna quoque ejus virtus et divinitas; ita ut nos omnium hominum simus maxime inexcusabiles, si, cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverimus, nec gratias egerimus: nostraque damnatio erit omnium maxima, si in tanta luce obsceurescamus. Cavendum est valde nobis ne, dicentes nos esse sapientes, stulti fiamus; ne convertamus [gloriam] incorruptibilis Dei in imagines, colamusque nummos avari, ventrem gulosi, venerem libidinosi, diabolum superbi; ne commutemus veritatem Dei in mendacium, et serviamus creaturæ potius quam creatori; ex hocque tradamur in desideria cordis, passionibus ignominie, in reprobum sensum, et luto iniquitatis iterum involvamur.*

Heb. i. 2;
ii. 1—4.

Considerantes a quanto doctore accepimus veritatem, audiamus quod scripsit Paulus ad Hebreos; ad quos scripsit: *Novissime Deus loquutus est nobis in Filio. Propterea abundantius oportet observare nos ea quæ audivimus, ne forte pereffluamus. Si enim qui per angelos dictus est sermo, factus est firmus, et si omnis prevaricatio et inobedientia justam accepit mercedis retributionem, quomodo nos effugiemus, quibus locutus est Filius, si tantam neglexerimus salutem? quæ quum initium accepisset per Dominum ab eis qui audierunt, in nos confirmata est, contestante Domino Deo signis et portentis, et variis virtutibus, et Spiritus Sancti distributionibus secundum suam voluntatem.*

Gentiles habuerunt philosophos doctos a creaturis: Judei prophetas doctos ab angelis: Christiani postremo apostolos edoctos a Jesu, Deo eterno.

Omnis doctrina Dei eo intendit ut edocti suspitiant Deum, et eundem colant, et in eodem juste vivant hominibus.

Deus ex celo clamat, ex monte sancto suo hominibus: Contemplantur creaturas; audi angelos; ausculta Filium meum: ut pii et justi sitis. Contemplati sunt gentes,

audierunt Judei, auscultavimus nos Christiani; et tamen universi ita impii et iniusti sumus, ut videamur dixisse cum impio illo *in corde nostro: Non est Deus: corrupti sumus, et abominabiles facti. De celo perspexit ut videret: omnes declinaverunt.* Ps. xiii. 1.

Quæ meminit hic Paulus vicia, ea late patent jam in orbe Christianorum. Apertus est fons irreligiositatis: profluunt scelera: impetu illabitur torrens iniquitatis. Clama, ecclesia Christi: *salvum me [fac] Domine; quoniam intraverunt aquæ usque ad animam meam.* Quod si tu, Deus, non misertus fueris populi tui, nostrorum peccatorum diluvio obruemur. Ps. lxxviii. 2.

CAP. II.

NON ergo judicet alium qui ipse peccator est, nec objiciat alii quod in ipsius caput possit retorqueri: sed consideret seipsum, et timeat, et peniteat dum poterit; memor unicuique fore secundum opera sua. Non objiciat gentilis Judeo, illos non servasse legem; sed videat quam ipse peccator erat sine lege. Nec objiciat Judeus, se prestare gentili accepta lege; sed videat servaverit legem, nec ne. Quoniam bene faciens sine lege salvabitur, vivens lege rectæ conscientie suæ; et male faciens sub lege damnabitur transgressor legis. Iccirco sine lege esse, vel legem habere, nihil ad rem pertinet. Nam et hic potest damnari, et ille salvari. Tota vis in actione boni est. Et vera justitia in abscondito in spiritu est apud Deum. Deus spectator mentium est et fidei et spe in ipso.

Tria in hoc capite de Deo predicantur, trino ipso et uno: bonitas illius, prudentia, et justitia. Bonitate enim sua patiens, benignus et longanimis est. Expectat diu ut homines peniteant. Nolit quenquam damnari, sed salvari universos. Revera mollibus et penitentibus statim mollis et misericors est Deus, ac facile ignoscit, atque postremo bene operantibus reddet *gloriam et honorem, incorruptionem* ver. 7. et pacem. Prudentia autem, sine acceptione personarum spectator factorum est, bona ne sint an mala. Judeus Deo

non est gratior gentili, nomine Judei; sed quisque ut facit, ita retribuetur ei. Carnem, corpus, sensibilia signa, non spectat Deus; sed intime internum spiritum hominis. *Justicia vero sua ulciscente vere et juste judicabit occulta hominum in die iræ suæ; maxime eos qui judicant et condemnant alios, ipsi imprimis judicandi; quique nolunt acquiescere veritati. His erit ira, indignatio, tribulatio, angustia.*

ver. 16.

ver. 8.

Gentes facti Christiani nomine adhuc magis quam re, objecerunt Judeis transgressionem legis; ignari Deum nihil animadvertere nisi bonam vitam in spiritu, in gracia, in Christo Jesu.

Judei vero, quorum petulantia erat major et arrogantia fastidiosior, gloriati sunt se cognovisse Deum, et habuisse sapientiam, et in luce vixisse: paganos gentiles præ se contempserunt, judicaveruntque cecos, insipientes, et in tenebris: predicaverunt bona, sed vixerunt prevaricatores legis: blasphemaverunt nomen Dei inter gentes: habuerunt sacramenta et signacula, sed legem non deservebant. Igitur revera gentiles erant in spiritu; Judei in carne et corpore: tamen hi facti Christiani condemnaverunt peccata gentilium, ipsi peccatores; seque ipsos gentibus preferebant.

Veri autem Christiani, qui sunt ex Judeis et gentilibus, qui a Patre celesti per Jesum Christum in spiritu in gracia justificantur; ii non condemnant alios sed seipsos. Hos penitet statim proximorum peccatorum; ii in patientia boni operis querunt vitam eternam; quibus erit *incorruptio, gloria, honor* et pax: faciunt bonum assidue; accepti sunt Deo.

Qui bene faciunt, accepti et grati sunt Deo sine externis notis et sacramentis in corpore. Vera bonitas spiritalis laudatur a Deo, et lex scripta in cordibus hominum. Gentilis aliquis, in spiritu Judeus, habetur pro circumciso; et circumciscus, in spiritu preputium [habens,] habetur pro preputio. In abscondito, in corde, in spiritu, ut est quisque, ita censetur. Quicquid autem vere spiritale est, id est Christianum. Christiano enim omnia sunt spiritalia; et ipse quoque spiritus est, Ioanne teste. *Qui natus est, inquit, ex spiritu, spiritus est.*

Ioan. iii. 6.

Rom. ii. 1.

Ib. i. 25.

Propter quod inexcusabilis es, O homo qui judicas, quia commutasti veritatem Dei in mendacium, et servisti creaturæ

magis quam creatori. Propter hanc causam *inexcusabilis es, O homo omnis*, quicumque, vel gentilis vel Judeus, *qui judicas et condemnas alium* de impietate. *In quo enim judicas alterum*, alteruter Judeus gentilisve, *teipsum condemnas* de eodem crimine. *Eadem enim agis quæ judicas*: committis eadem scelera quæ in alio damnas. Nemo non peccator est. Illa peccatorum turba, quam modo meminit Paulus, occupavit omnia.

Scimus enim quoniam judicium Dei, cujus est proprium ver. 2.
judicare, qui videt intime omnia, *est secundum veritatem in eos.* Homines plerumque falso judicant. *Deus verax est*; Rom. iii. 4.
omnis homo mendax.

Existimas autem hoc, O homo quicumque, qui judicas et ver. 3.
*accusas eos, qui talia*¹ *qualia modo dixerim, et facis ea—*
committis eadem scelera, quia tu effugies judicium Dei?
Quasi diceret, non effugies; sed eo magis condemnaberis quo superbius alios condemnas. *An divitias bonitatis ejus,* ver. 4.
qui semper effundit largiter bonitatem, et tamen nihilo-
minus abundat; et patientie, quam dat multam et longam,
*et longanimitatis—*longanimitas est continua et indefessa
expectatio—*contemnis,* abutendo imprudenter tanta et tam
larga patientia, a divite et liberali Deo in te collata?

Est sermo tractus a divitibus et locupletibus, quorum tantæ sunt opes ut expendi non possint. Bonitas autem Dei infinita est, quam nulla exhaurit prodigalitas.

Ignoras quoniam benignitas Dei ad penitentiam te adducit?
Ecce quorsum tendit tanta boni Dei patientia; qui dissimulat peccata nostra, qui differt ultionem, qui cupit, qui expectat, ut nos peniteat; qui interea hic quos diligit leniter castigat ut resipiscant. Hæc intelligant omnes a benigno Deo fieri ut nos adducat ad penitentiam.

Sed tu, miser homo, quicumque pergis continuasque in peccatis tuis, *secundum duritatem tuam, et impenitens cor* ver. 5.
tuum, thesaurisas tibi iram Dei in die iræ, et revelationis
justi judicii Dei, qui reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.
Accumulas tibi iram Dei, vindictam in die iræ, in die judicii.

¹ Deest agunt.

Dum hic vivitur dies misericordiæ est: post hanc vitam dies erit iudicii et *revelationis justi iudicii*, quando justum iudicium Dei revelabitur, quod adhuc non apparet; includitur in Dei patientia; sed post hanc vitam prodiet eo gravior quo longius es abusus patientia Dei; secundum durum, indomitum, intractabile et impenitens cor tuum—mentem; quæ in tanta Dei mollitia non mollescit nec liquitur. Quanquam *flet spiritus*, tamen non *fluunt aquæ spirituales*. Ita mentes hominum frigore malitiæ congelantur.

Ps. cxlvii.
18.

ver. 6.

ver. 7.

Qui reddet in futuro *unicuique secundum opera ejus*. Docens quomodo, addit¹ *his quidem, qui secundum patientiam boni operis*—in patientia mali bene operantur. Hoc enim Christiani est, pati malum, et bonum agere, ut innocenti iusticia moriens vivat. *Gloriam*—supple *reddet, et honorem, et incorruptionem*: pro temporali ignominia, eternam gloriam; querentibus vitam eternam in patientia mali et actione boni. *His autem, qui sunt ex contentione*—contra illis,² qui contendunt et adversantur superbius, et qui non acquiescunt veritati, sed reluctantur, et eam predicatam fastidiose respuunt, *credunt autem iniquitati* potius; illis—supple *erit, vel reddetur, —ira, indignatio, tribulatio, angustia, in omnem animam hominis operantis malum, Judei primum et greci*; et qui erant primi in gracia, justa dispensatione iidem sint primi in pena. *Gloria, honor et pax omni operanti bonum, Judeo primum et greco*.

ver. 8.

ver. 9.

ver. 10.

ver. 11.

Hoc optanter dicit fore. *Non enim est acceptio personarum apud Deum*. Ordo in ecclesia est, sed non acceptio. Acceptio enim est quando una persona admittitur, alia repudiatur. Sed Deus repudiat neminem. Undecumque et ex quocumque genere hominum quispiam sit, si per Christum ad Deum venerit, admittitur in ecclesiam. Sed primum Judeus; tum grecus, id est, gentilis.

ver. 12.

Quicumque enim sine lege peccaverunt, sine lege peribunt. Non considerat Deus personas, sed vitam cujusque: atque, ut quisque egerit in vita, ita eveniet. Si peccator fuerit, peribit, Judeus fuerit gentilisve; sin justus, salvabitur, Judeus fuerit gentilisve. Non enim distinguit homines

¹ Addens, MS.

² Illos, MS.

secundum personas qualitatesque conditionis, sed pensat quemque pro ratione suæ vitæ. Quia *quicumque sine lege* Judeorum *peccaverunt, sine lege peribunt*; condemnante eos lege rectoque dictamine conscientiæ suæ. Habet enim unusquisque lumen et innatam quandam vivendi regulam; a qua si exorbitaverit, conscientia illum condemnabit sua. *Et quicumque sub lege peccaverint* (hi Judei sunt sub lege), *per legem judicabuntur*; quia lex est conscientia scripta, conscientia autem lex innata. Lex nihil aliud est quam lucida ratio, discernens equum et iniquum; hoc condemnans, illud approbans. Omnes habent legem innatam, conscientiam; Judei preterea scriptam legem, admonitricem conscientiæ.

Non enim auditores legis justificabuntur apud Deum, sed ver. 13.
factores; non factores quidem carnaliter cultu corporis et observantia sensibili, in quibus se exercuerunt Judei; sed illi dumtaxat qui faciunt mentem et spiritum legis, quique vivunt secundum sensum ejus spiritalem. Nam, ut postea asserit vii. 14.
 Paulus, *lex spiritalis est*; id est, habet intellectum spiritalem. Qui faciunt quod spiritus legis velit, justificabuntur. Caro Ioan. vi. 64.
non prodest quicquam; spiritus est qui vivificat.

Quum enim gentes, quæ legem non habent—illam Judeorum Rom. ii. 14.
 a Moyse traditam—*naturaliter ea, quæ legis sunt, faciunt*, innata vivendi regula lumineque naturali, quod est omni scripta lege antiquius; *ejusmodi legem non habentes*—illam Judeorum stimulatricem conscientiæ—*ipsi sibi sunt lex*, intrinseco dictamine rationis; *qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cordibus suis*. ver. 15.
 Nam sic intima ratio diffinivit faciendum; quia dicit, *opus legis scriptum in cordibus*. Ex hoc agnoscere possumus opus legis esse mentale et spiritale; siquidem opus in corde et mente: quod qui facit justificabitur, non qui ostendit opus legis in corpore tantum.

Testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum.—Proverbium vetus est, *Conscientia mille testes*. Quem conscientia non condemnat sua, is justus est:—ea (inquam) conscientia, quæ simplex et vera est; quæ rara est in hominibus. Quamobrem dum hic vivitur, tuæ nimium non conscientiæ, sed time judicium Dei; qui altius inspicit penetrantiusque intuitur quam tumetipse. Paulus ad Corinthios de se scripsit: *nihil mihi conscius sum; sed non in hoc justificatus*

1 Cor. iv.
4, 5.

sum: qui me judicat, Dominus est. Itaque nolite ante tempus judicare, quoadusque veniat Dominus; qui illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum, et manifestabit occulta cordium; et
 Rom. ii. 15, tunc erit laus unicuique a Deo. Quapropter addit: et inter
 16. se invicem cogitationum accusantium aut defendentium, in die
 quum judicabit Dominus occulta hominum: (et—supple
 testimonium reddente illis conscientia cogitationum). In foro
 tuæ ipsius mentis agitur causa tua, O homo, in die illa
 luculenta Christi in quo omnia patebunt. Accusator et
 defensor et judex eris ipse. Quod si te condemnaveris, tunc
 multo te magis condemnabit Dominus, qui judicabit occulta
 hominum.

His verbis quæ facit de gentibus, Paulus non significat
 illas naturaliter suapteque natura fecisse quæ legis erant;
 quod erat impossibile sine gracia. Nec quisquam erat gen-
 tium, quantacumque pietate preditus, qui id assequutus est,
 ut prestaret in se quod lex Moysaica voluit. Omnes pec-
 caverunt et eguerunt gracia. Cognoverunt Deum, sed non
 i. 21. sicut Deum glorificaverunt. Sed his verbis utitur ad pre-
 mendam superbiam et jactantiam Judeorum, qui tantopere
 gloriati sunt in lege, quam corpore exsecuti sunt duntaxat,
 non spiritu; testans, si quando gentes ex lege vixerint (qui
 non vixerint quidem secundum legem; sed statuamus sic
 fuisse in aliquo gentium, ut videamus vim legis; atque
 loquamur ac si res sic se habuisset; dicamusque si quando
 gentes ad legis normam vixerint)—legem illam tum in vita
 habuisse, quando non est lex nisi ad vitam. Item Judeos,
 si ex lege non vixerint, censendos sine lege esse. Ex
 spiritu et vita in omnibus animadvertenda omnia.

Quod addit, secundum evangelium meum per Jesum Chris-
 tum, est, sicuti ego prædico, doctus a Christo Jesu. Nam
 evangelium est, per Jesum Christum laudem hominis esse
 apud Deum solum ex spiritu, et vita, actioneque justiciæ.

ver. 17. Si autem tu Judeus cognominaris, et requiescis in lege.—
 Hic docet, Judeos, tametsi legem eis datam habuerint, tamen
 lege non observata eos omnes velut gentes esse, legemque
 illis nihil prodesse. Si tu, inquit, Judee superior, Judeus
 cognominaris, nomen habes et non rem, et requiescis in lege,
 quasi tutus quod habes legem, et gloriaris in Deo propter

datam legem, et nosti voluntatem ejus, ut ipse dicis, doctus a
 lege, et probas utiliora, laudas bonum, instructus per legem,
 confidis te ipsum ducem esse cecorum—hoc tibi ascribis—
 lumen eorum qui in tenebris sunt, eruditorem¹ insipientium,
 magistrum infantium:—vocaverunt gentes cecos, insipientes,
 infantes, tenebrosos:—habentem formam legis, scientiæ et
 veritatis in lege. Hæc sibi arrogaverunt Judei, magnam
 videlicet sapientiam pietatis et justitiæ. Quamobrem in-
 terrogat illos audacter Paulus: *Qui ergo alium doces, teip-*
sum non doces: quasi diceret; debeat te pudere, Judee, id
 tantum in te suscipere docere alios, quando maxime docen-
 dus es ipse; qui, quod doces alios, non facis ipse; quæ
 vetas, committis. *Qui predicas non furandum, furaris;*
destruens factis quod verbis clamitas. Qui dicis non me-
chandum, mecharis adulteriis. Qui abominaris idola, sacri-
legium facis, ipse idolotra. *Qui in lege gloriaris, per pri-*
varicationem legis Deum inhonoras, nedum temet ipsum;
quia nomen Dei per vos Judeos blasphematur inter gentes.
 Nam quum profiteamini vos servos esse Dei, quumque ser-
 viatis in peccatis et sceleribus, potest Deus vester aliis
 videri magister peccati. Ex servis enim agnoscimus magis-
 trum: qualesque servos videmus et discipulos, tales magis-
 tros judicare solemus. Itaque feda et infami vita vestra
 blasphematis Deum, datisque aliis occasionem blasphemandi.

Iesus noster testatus est Judeis sæpe, Judeorum vitam
 normæ legis nihil respondisse. *Dicunt enim et non faciunt.*
 Item in evangelio Ioannis ponuntur hæc verba Iesu ad
 Judeos: *Nonne Moyses dedit vobis legem? et nemo ex vobis*
facit legem.

Circumcisio quidem prodest, si legem observes.—Erat cir-
 cumcisio apud Judeos quidam ritus a Deo Abrasæ traditus,
signaculum (ut alibi vocat Paulus) *fidei.* Amputabatur illis
 pellicula illa quæ penis glandem tegit, nudebaturque glans,
 quo expeditior ad gignendum prolem coitus fiat. Id voluit
 significavitque, hominis mentem ab omni superflua cogita-
 tione nudare oportere; quo facilius coeat cum Deo suo,
 concipiatque semen quo fecundetur, parturiatque justitiæ

¹ Eruditores—habentes, MS.

fructus, quasi gratiæ filios. Sed in hoc sancto et felici coitu hominis mentis cum Deo, mens ut mulierem se habet; Deus locum viri tenet. Istiusmodi sacramenta et signa in corpore sane inanissimæ umbræ sunt, si in mente non exstiterit veritas.

- ver. 25. *Circumcisio* illa, amputatio pelliculæ quod preputium dicitur, nudatioque illius summæ partis virilis membri, *prodest quidem*, et utile signum est tibi, Judee, *si legem observes*, omni superflua et carnali cogitatione abscissa a summa parte mentis virilis, denudataque mente Deo. *Si autem privaricator legis sis*, involuta et intacta mente preputio crassi et carnalis affectus, tunc *circumcisio tua preputium factum est*, et tu, quanquam circumcisis corpore, tamen
- ver. 26. re vera mente preputiatus es. *Si igitur preputium* (intelligit gentes quæ erant preputiati; si gentes) *justicias legis custodiant*—non dicit illas custodiisse, sed si custodiissent—*nonne preputium illius in circumcisionem reputabitur?* Quasi diceret, habebitur tanquam circumcisis et Judeus. Si custodiat justicias legis spiritualis, circumcidatque se a mundo et carne, a phantasmate et ratione, extiteritque Deo simplici et nuda fide, num erit tum Judeus in veritate? Quasi
- ver. 27. diceret, erit. *Et judicabit*—condemnabit—*id quod natura est preputium*: id est, gentes, quæ sunt preputiati carnaliter, *legem consummantes*, perficientes legem, judicabunt, et condemnabunt te, Judeum, *qui per litteram et circumcisionem*—per litteralem circumcisionem—ut littera loquitur de corpore, *privaricator es legis* mente et spiritu tuo.

Quanquam interpretis scripturarum non est grammatici officium agere, scrupulosiusque verba examinare; tamen quia meus E., adolescens cui hæc dicto, simul cum theologia lectione incumbit litteraturæ, volumus ei hoc loco grammaticus esse, exponereque quod significat hoc verbum *privaricator*; quod idem quoque postea sepius faciemus, quando opportunitas et justa occasio suaserit.

Varicari a venis *varicibus*, quæ in cruribus grandes, tumidæ et obtortæ aliquibus sunt, dictum est: quarum curacio propterea quod periculosa est, medici eas transgredi et preterire solent. A quo fit ut *varicari* transgredi significet. Juris consulti in alium sensum hoc verbum usur-

pant, vocantque *privaticatorem* qui modo hujus, modo illius, partis est; et "qui adversarii causam adjuvat prodita causa sua;" et qui "colludit cum reo, translative accusandi munere defungens; dissimulat proprias probationes, falsas excusationes¹ admittit." Sed hic *privaticator* is dicitur, "quicumque ab officii sui prescripto deflectit atque aberrat, sive perfidia ac malicia, sive imprudentia vel negligentia id fiat:" et *privaticatio* ipsa officii transgressio est. Judeis autem prescriptum fuit a lege quid agant; sed terminos transgressi sunt, *privaticatique* sunt legem vagi et fluxi mentibus suis, tametsi corpore circumcidebantur. Sed redeamus at litteram.

Non enim qui in manifesto, Judeus est (hæc de lege ver. 28. Moysi); in aperto corpore ad sensum signa preseferens;² *neque quæ in manifesto, in carne*,—id est, in manifesta carne corporeque—*est circumcisio*: quasi diceret, Verus judaismus, veraque circumcisio, non censetur ex corpore sed ex spiritu. Ideo addit: *Sed in abscondito Judeus est* ver. 29. *lege*: ille (supple) est Judeus, in abscondito mentis servans legem. Et circumcisio quæ erat ante legem est vera circumcisio; ea quæ est *cordis in spiritu*; amputato omni carnali affectu, omni crassa phantasmate, omni denique fluxa vagaque ratione a mente, denudataque mente penitus Deo: *non littera*, quæ spectat ad carnem, sed secundum spiritum litteræ quæ aspicit spiritum. *Cujus laus*, spiritalis Judei, *non ex hominibus*, qui nequeunt ultra cutem cernere, *sed ex Deo*, qui scrutator est cordium, et mentium inspector. His contendit Paulus, ut persuadeat non corpus spectandum esse, sed mentem; non signa corporis, sed mentis veritatem.

In libro Geneseos traditur Abraam, selectum a Deo, Gen. xii. ex terra sua Caldeorum eductum, et inductum in aliam terram, monstratam a Deo illis, conscendisse montem, in monte constituisse altare, in altari invocasse nomen Domini, in meridiem deinde valde perrexisse. Ex egipto, in quam descenderat, tractus necessitate famis, quando reversus fuerat, in eundem montem se recepisse; illicque rursum

¹ Accusationes, MS.

² Preseferentes, MS.

nomen domini ritu suo invocasse. Post hæc, implorante Abraam, ac gemitu ac fletibus liberos flagitante, promisit Deus illi copiosam prolem, etiam ad stellarum numerum.

Hoc loco laudatur singularis fides Abræ, quam scriptura
 Iac. ii. 23. testatur, inquires, *Credidit Abraam Deo, et reputatum est ei ad justiciam.* Itaque novem et nonaginta annos agens,
 Gen. xvii. 1. audivit a Deo: *Ego dominus omnipotens; ambula coram me, et esto perfectus. Ponamque fedus meum inter me et te, et multiplicabo te vehementer nimis.*

Itaque pactus est Deus summus cum humilimo Abraam, promisitque patrem illum fore multarum gentium, seque illi Deum fore, daturumque illi terram, eternam possessionem sibi suisque; ea lege et conditione ut pactum servant. Pactum autem et fedus erat inter Deum et Abraam, Abræque semen; masculus quisque circumcidatur in membro genitali, preputiumque amputetur, *in signum federis.*
 Gen. xvii. 11. Incircumcisis peribit. Delegit Isaac cum quo ineat fedus, cuique promissa prestat; dummodo ille suique pactum servant, circumcidanturque Deo. Evestigio Abraam prescidit sibi preputium, et toti familiæ suæ, novem et nonaginta annos agens. Anno centesimo natum Isaac octavo die circumcidit; quem postea jussus a Deo volens immolare, jusjurando confirmata sibi promissa accepit. Hic circumcisionis ritus ab Abraam primum per Isaac manavit ad Iudeos; quod signum erat perfectæ ambulationis coram Deo in fide, perfectæque vitæ in Christo Jesu.

Misterii ratio hæc est; si quod carnis est, ad spiritum transferas. Potest significare separationem Judeorum ab omni alia gente; quorum vita sit prescisa, expurgata et pollita. In gentibus vero multa et vaga erat superfluitas. Potest idem significare separationem omnimodam a carne, ut vere circumcisis nullum cum carne commercium habeat.

Verum meo judicio mentula mentem significat; et circumcisio mentulæ circumcisionem mentis et spiritus hominis; qui obtegatur involutus quasi preputio, ut virile membrum. Preputium mentis est carnalis affectio, crassa imaginatio, et ratio vaga et incerta. Iis tecta et implicata mens nequit coire cum Deo. Oportet ergo privetur his involucris, denudeturque omnino, simplexque extet sim-

plicitate Dei; abscisa et longe abjecta omni carnalitate, omni rudiori imaginatione, denique omni ratiotione vaga et fluenti; ut sic expedita et libera in se mens facillime coeat cum Deo, concipiatque ex Deo, in Deoque fecundata pareat copiosam prolem justiciæ.

Illa denudatio carnis apud Judeos expeditioque mentulæ ad faciliorem coitum, adque copiosorem proliferationem carnaliter, quæ extitit apud Judeos supra omnes gentes, (maxime propterea quod apud illos arma genitalia erant expeditiora), spiritaliter nihil aliud velit quam puram et simplicem hominis mentem Deo esse oportere; ut, quemadmodum fecundet magis simplici mentula, ita simplici mente magis fecundetur. Nam ad Deum vir velut femina est; sicut ad feminam vir est. Ultimo enim carnis viriliter adheret mulieri; summo autem mentis feminitate adheret Deo; ut, quemadmodum adherens mulieri una evadat caro, ita adherens Deo unus fiat spiritus. Semper, ad Deum si compares virum, est in eo infirmitas feminina; tametsi ad infirmam feminam vir sit.

Quamobrem si hæc ratio sit circumcisionis, sique velit simplicitate fidei ut facile, penitus, et intime homo coeat cum Deo; ad hunc verum modum tunc circumcidamus nos Christiani, qui seligimur separamurque ut subjecti serviamus Deo, aperti, rudi, simplices; nullo obstaculo nec affectus nec rationis impediante; atque cum simplici Abraam educti ex terra nostra et cognatione nostra, properemus in terram monstratam a Deo, terram viventium, terram spiritalem; recipiatque quisque [se] in stabilitatem mentis suæ; conscendat montem pietatis, illic locet altare, invocet Deum, pergat quoad poterit versus meridiem, ad solis vestigia; ut in Christo magis atque magis ardeat charitate. Famelicus vero descendat in Egyptum, reficiat corpus; revertatur in montem; redeat in contemplationem; imploret, speret, prolem justiciæ. Quum justa fuerit mens, tunc paratus sit, si Deus jusserit, ut eam ipse immolet Deo; dicatque cum Paulo in rogo charitatis: *Opto me anathema esse pro* Rom. ix. 3. *fratribus meis*; ut tunc, propter tantam voluntatem et charitatem nimiam, cum jurejurando confirmatam sibi promissam eternam hereditatem audiat; accipiatque postremo

Gen. xxii.
13.

Rom. xii.
1.

arietem illum in vepribus herentem cornubus, id est, corpus suum, et veterem hominem, tentum spinis, id est, sollicitudinibus hujus mundi; et eum mactans immolet Deo hostiam viventem, placentem, rationabile obsequium.

Ita imitetur Abraam, in spiritu Abræ filius, Christianus quisque; ut feliciter aliquando in sinu Abræ conquiescat.

Pagani sunt rustici: ita vocantur omnes qui sunt extra cultiorem civitatem Dei, quæ est ecclesia Christi; propterea quod ita molles spiritu non sunt, nec moribus adeo mites et mansueti, nec vita adeo polita et nitida, sicut sunt veri ecclesiastici. Spiritus enim Christi emollit animos et serenat, et homines mansuefacit.

Rom. ii. 5.
sqq.

Quæ in hoc capite secundo scribuntur de Judeo et gentili a Paulo, eodem modo accommodari possunt Christiano et pagano; atque translatis nominibus de eisdem quoque verbatim dici. Christiani enim condemnant paganos de infidelitate eorum; ipsi revera maxime infideles. Quapropter non effugient justum judicium Dei, abutentes patientia et benignitate Dei. Isti pseudo-Christiani *thesaurizant sibi iram Dei in die iræ. Reddet Deus unicuique secundum opera, non secundum nomen. Non enim est acceptio personarum apud Deum. Quicumque sine evangelio peccaverunt, sine evangelio peribunt; et qui in evangelio peccaverunt, per evangelium judicabuntur. Non enim auditores evangelii justificabuntur apud Deum, sed factores. Quum pagani, qui evangelium non habent, per gratiam ea quæ sunt evangelii faciunt, ejusmodi, evangelium non habentes, nec baptismum nec ejusmodi signacula gestantes, ipsi sibi sunt baptismus et evangelium; qui ostendunt opus baptismi et graciæ scriptum in cordibus; testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum, et inter se invicem accusantium et defendentium, in die illa, quum judicabit Deus occulta hominum.*

Si autem Christianus cognominaris, et requiescis in evangelio, et gloriaris in Deo; et nosti voluntatem ejus per Christum, et probas utiliora, instructus per evangelium, confidis te ipsum esse ducem cecorum paganorum, lumen eorum qui in tenebris sunt, eruditorem insipientium, magis-

trum infantium, habentem formam scientiæ et veritatis in evangelio:—qui alium doces, teipsum non doces? qui predicas non furandum, furaris? qui dicis non mechandum, mecharis? qui abominas idola, sacrilegium facis? qui in evangelio gloriaris, per privaricationem evangelii Deum in Christo inhonoras? Nomen enim Dei et Christi per Christianos blasphematur inter paganos.

Baptismus et alia sacramenta quidem prosunt, si evangelium observes. Si autem privaricator evangelii sis, baptismus tuus paganismus est. Si igitur paganus justicias evangelii custodiat, nonne paganismus illius in baptismum reputabitur? et judicabit is qui ex natura est paganus, evangelium consummans, te Christianum, qui per carnem et baptismum privaricator es evangelii? Non enim qui in manifesto, Christianus est; neque qui in manifesto, in carne, est baptizatus; sed qui in abscondito, est Christianus; et baptizatus in corde et spiritu, non carne; cujus laus non ex hominibus, sed ex Deo est.

Desinant ergo Christiani objicere paganis infidelitatem: illi videlicet maxime, qui vita dissimiles Christo, parum se fideles esse contestantur; sed suæ ipsius infidelitatis potius se condemnent. Respiciat Christum, præclarissimum vivendi exemplum; reformet se illi; tota denique vita representet illum; sit memor quid Christus ipse dixerit: *Non* Mat. vii. 21. *omnis qui dicit mihi, Domine, Domine, intrabit in regnum celorum; sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei qui in celo est. Habeat etiam ante oculos id quod Ioannes, Christi dilectus discipulus, reliquit scriptum in priore sua epistola: Qui dicit se in Christo manere, debet, sicut ille ambulavit, et ipse* 1 Ioan. ii. 6 *ambulare. His diebus, quod dolendum est, homines Christiani nominis sunt omni pagano vita turpiores.*

Discamus hic omnes a Paulo, qui gloriamur in Christo, quique per ipsum salvos nos fore speramus, nihil valere apud Deum nisi spiritalem veritatem; cujus exemplum demonstravit Iesus. Quod si spiritu et vita imitati non fuerimus, futuros nos eos quibus dicet justus iudex: *Disce-* Ps. vi. 9. *dite a me omnes, qui operamini iniquitatem.*

Cujusmodi disceptatio olim fuerat inter Judeos et gentes, eadem nunc ferme est ubique gentium in ipsa Christiana

ecclesia, inter sacerdotes et laycos; et eam partem ecclesiæ quæ vulgo spiritualis vocatur, et eam quæ temporalis. Mutuo se accusant; miserrime configunt. Utrunque superbia, jactantia, vanitas est. Sacerdotes despitiunt laycos, laycosque sibi predicant subjici oportere. Vicissim layci insolenter se efferunt, despitiuntque sacerdotes, sacerdotesque sine ipsis dicunt vivere nequire.

Hic Paulus, aut alius quispiam, verbis Pauli usus, potest se medium interponere, et condemnare utrumque, dicereque ambos *inexcusabiles*: alterutrum accusantem *facere eadem* et se condemnare; *abuti patientia Dei*; *thesaurizare sibi iram Dei in die iræ*: Deum *non accipere personas*; laycum, si fecerit opus sacerdotis, sacerdotem haberi; sacerdotem, si layci vestigia sequatur, laycum esse. *Qui gloriaris in sacerdotio, per privaricationem sacerdotii Deum inhonoras? Nomen Dei per sacerdotes blasphematur inter laycos. Non qui manifesto, sacerdos est, et in carne tonsus; sed qui in abscondito in spiritu; cujus laus a Deo.* Spiritualis si fueris sacerdos, patieris laycum; benedices illi; studebis prodesse spiritaliter oratione, consilio, exemplo. In illius malitia eris bonus; in illius maledicentia eris benedictus; in illius tenacitate liberalis; in illius duritate misericors.

O sacerdotes Christi Iesu, quod consulit Petrus apostolus efficit: *Habeatis bonam conscientiam; ut in eo quod detrahunt de vobis, confundantur, qui calumniantur vestram bonam in Christo conversationem. Melius est bene facientes pati quam malefacientes.* Item paulo ante in eadem epistola: *in fine*¹ *omnes unanimes, compacientes, fraternitatis amatores, misericordes, modesti, humiles; non reddentes malum pro malo, nec maledictum pro maledicto; sed e contrario benefacientes. Et quis est qui vobis noceat, si boni emulatores fueritis!* Si Petrus scripsit ad omnes Christianos, multo magis ad sacerdotes. Redeuntes ad pristinam bonitatem, laycos in pristinam obedientiam revocabimus. Conversi ad illos ut malum referamus malo, malitiam exaugebimus, proniore ad malum quam ad bonum.

Bonus autem laycus si fueris, misereberis perditum et pro-

¹ Fide, MS.

fligati sacerdotis; dolebis lumen, quo videas, extinctum esse; exemplum quod sequare ereptum; sal quoque infatuatum. Deflebis, ducibus belli cesis, Christianos cedere diabolo, redigique rursus in servitutem; gubernatoribus amissis, ecclesiasticam navim mundi fluctibus periclitari.

CAP. III.

OSTENDIT Judeos habuisse sibi traditam legem et eloquia Dei, quæ non habuerunt gentiles; sed illis non credidisse. Ita cum gentilibus Judeos infidelitate pares. Veruntamen quanquam non crediderint tunc eloquiis, nunc tamen verbo Filii credere posse. Quanquam enim frustraverint primam gratiam legis, tamen secundam non frustraverunt, quæ gratia est fidei; quæ venit amplior propter magnam incredulitatem et peccatum eorum; ut credant si voluerint.

Non tamen peccandum, ut gratia exuperet, quoniam non iusticia salvantur peccatores sed gratia:—iusticia enim damnantur. In maxima gratia subsignificat Paulus minime peccandum esse; ut peccans maxime in gratia damnetur maxime.

Omnes vero peccasse, Judeos maxime; edoctos per legem quantum peccaverunt: eos tamen et omnes salvari posse, dummodo credant redemptori Iesu; cujus sanguine delentur preterita peccata, ut deinceps juste vivant. In ipso omnes pariter, Judei et gentiles, justificati sola iusticia fidei per Iesum Christum; quæ veritas est legis et ipsa.

Deus unus verus, et justus est unus omnium; justificans omnes, sine distinctione, gratia gratis per fidem Iesu Filii: verus et verax et verbis fidelis; *ut justificetur in sermonibus suis, et vincat quum judicetur.* Bonus et justus iusticia justificante, quæ gratia illius est, justificans eum qui ex fide est Iesu Christi; et gratia gratificans, et gratis justificans. Ille est qui facit justos arbitrio suo, et bonificat quemlibet.

Iesus redemptor sanguine est suo et propitiator. Per hunc justificatio est gratis credentibus. Ille medius est

inter Deum et homines. Reconciliavit homines Deo, et repropitiavit Deum hominibus. In illo ambarum naturarum unitas est; per hunc idoneum medium Deus Pater justificat homines; homines justificantur a Deo. Est media justitia et bonitas Dei qua justificamur; quam tum fidem, tum gratiam possumus appellare. Hic Christus est Iesus.

Est in lectione Pauli, *fides Iesu; justitia fidei; justitia ex fide*; quam lex et prophetæ testificati sunt. Hæc vera est et perfecta lex. Vere justus est qui credit in Christo Iesu. Trahere legem carnis ad spiritalem fidem Iesu, est statuere legem et eandem supplere. Dixit Iesus: *Non veni solvere legem sed adimplere*. Hæc est abundantior justitia illa, de qua Christus: *Nisi (inquit) abundaverit justitia Christiani plusquam scribarum et phariseorum*. Si quidem hac fide Christi sola intratur in regnum celorum. Fideles justi sunt. Fides Christi justitia est. Hinc Christiani vocantur ecclesia fidelium; eorum qui justificantur per fidem Iesu, gratia gratis preteritis peccatis deletis; de cetero in gratia justi; non iterum peccatores; sed pergentes in gratia ad vitam eternam.

Apud Latinos authores *fides* proprie est dictorum et conventorum constantia et veritas, dicta quia *fiat* quod dictum est. *Dare fidem* est sancte promittere. Item apud eosdem aliquando *fides* pro credulitate ponitur ejus quod non videtur. Ita apud nostros theologos accipitur. Et is qui bene credit, homo *bonæ fidei* appellatur; quem nos fidelem vocamus. Item *bonæ fidei* homo vocatur, cui res tuto creditur; vel qui rem sibi creditam fideliter servat. Ad Thimotheum, *bonæ fidei* hominem, scripsit Paulus: *depositum custodi*. Et alibi: *fidem servavi*. Habere *fidem*, credere est. Accipere *fidem* est credi. Scriptum est: *sermo meus non capit in vobis*; id est, non accipit fidem; non creditur. *Fido* est fidem habeo, spem pono, credo: *diffido*, credulitatem depono, despero. Fidentia et fidutia audacia est ex fide; quæ mirifica in marturibus fuerit, qui confidenter mortem obierunt. Confidere est credere. Perfidus est violator fidei. In Christianis hac tempestate magna est perfidia.

Augustinus scripsit fidem virtutem qua creduntur, quæ

Matt. v.
17.

Ib. ver. 20.

1 Tim. vi.
20.
2 Tim. iv.
7.
Ioan. viii.
37.

non videntur. Ea sunt quæ evangelizantur de Christo; cujus fidei duodecim articuli in ecclesia celebrantur, quæ comprehenduntur in apostolorum symbolo; in quod suum quisque articulum creditur conjecisse. Sed de fide disseremus latius, si quando venerimus ad illam fidei diffinitionem quam apostolus Paulus habet in epistola sua ad Hebreos.

Omnis homo mendax ante Christum, et Judeus, et Grecus, Rom. iii. 4. id est, gentilis. Omnes causati sub peccato, et egent gratia; Judei majori. Impius erat gentilis in preputio; multo magis impius Judeus in circumcisione, qui non credidit verbis et veritati fidei. Precepta vivendi non servaverunt vel inchoata et imperfecta. Religio eorum erat tota in carne et corpore: exercebant justiciam corporalem, et legem factorum in corpore, opera legis carnalis: spiritalem Dei cultum penitus ignorarunt. Universi erant peccatores longe a gratia Dei, in carcere servitutis peccati, in potestate diaboli; et Judei in lege, et gentiles extra legem. *Omnes declinaverunt*: nulla spes salutis erat hominibus, nisi ex gratia Dei per Iesum Christum. Cui credendum est, ut omnes credentes illi gratisificentur per ipsum et in ipso; sine quovis alio per quem preterita peccata redimantur, servi liberentur, inimici Dei reconcilientur. Veritati credimus; bonitate et gratia justificamur; omnia hæc gratis; ut cognoscamus misericordiam Dei mirificam, et amemus bonum Deum, et illi omni charitate serviamus, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

Habet Paulus proprium et suum loquendi modum; usurpatque verba sensibus eis et talibus, ut in ejus lectione exercitatissimus oportet sit, qui plane quid velit dicere intelligat. In hoc capite tercio *iniquitas, incredulitas, mendacium, peccatum*, quibus Judeos insimulat, idem est. Idem quoque *fides, veritas, justitia Dei*, quam Judei fefellerunt.

Erat Deus bonus; illi autem mali. Voluit illos data lege bonificare; noluerunt illi in data justi esse: tamen non frustraverunt bonitatem Dei, sed commendaverunt. Immo Deus suam charitatem commendavit. Nam non ex ipsis quidem fuit, quo vel minus vel magis Deus bonus

sit, sed ex ipso Deo; qui ut vult et quatenus vult bonus est.

Rom. iii. 1. *Quid ergo amplius Judeo quam gentili? fortasse interroget Judeus¹ aliquis, si nihil sit apud Deum nisi spiritus justiciæque spiritalis, quæ gentili æque patet atque Judeo: quid ergo valet lex illa, quam Moyses nobis tradidit, habita tot annis in precio, qua Judei estimantur longe gentibus antecellere? Item quæ utilitas circumcisionis, illius antiquissimi ritus, quem acceptum a Deo suis Abraam reliquit?*

Quia Paulus omnia posuit in spiritu invisibili, statim occurrit ei, quod a petulanti Judeo poterit objici de lege Moysaica et circumcisione Abrææ. Quibus respondit primum de lege, dein de circumcisione. Hoc caput tantum continet responsionem de lege Judeorum; quam non audet Paulus non facere alicujus, ut Judeos legi offendat; quam legem etiam Paulus pluris facit, magis ut satisfaciat Judeis quam ex sententia. Siquidem, ut docuit Ephesios, in uno Christo recapitulantur omnia.

ver. 2. *Multum, inquit, per omnem modum et amplius habet Judeus. Primum quidem quia credita sunt illis eloquia*

Heb. i. 1. *Dei. Illi primi fuerant quibuscum loquutus est Deus multipharie multisque modis; quibusque etiam credita et commissa fuerant eloquia Dei; non solum litteralis lex, ut velit Origenes, sed etiam spiritalia interpretamenta a Moyse per septuaginta sapientes successive derivata; quæ scientia capulæ et receptionis dicebatur. Veritatem, fidem, et justiciam habuerunt Dei in verbis et eloquiis, sed parum creduli fuerunt.*

Erant Judei circumcisi excellentiores² gentibus, quatenus electiores erant quibus magna gracia credantur eloquia Dei: sed illis eisdem eo inferiores, quo eloquiis increduli fuerunt, et tantam gratiam neglexerunt. Id objecit Judeo gentilis.

ver. 3. *Sed Paulus premens superbiam gentilium inquit: Quid si quidam illorum non crediderunt eloquiis Dei, negligentes veritatem et gratiam in hac parte? Numquid sint propterea Judei omnino insanabiles? Numquid incredulitas*

¹ Judeos, MS.

² Excellentioribus, MS.

eorum fidem Dei evacuavit?—facits quominus Deus fidelis videatur, qui semini Abræ promisit hereditatem? *Absit*: prestatbit promissa Deus. *Est verax et fidelis, et omnis* ver. 4.
homo mendax: sed mendatium hominum non evacuabit veritatem Dei, et in promissis fidem. Fiet quod dictum fuit, et semen Abræ heres erit. Sed, ut ad Galathas Gal. iii. 7.
scripsit, non omnes filii Abræ sunt filii Abræ: *non filii* Rom. ix.
carnis, sed promissionis. Fides et promissio Dei erat spiri- 8.
talis, non carnalis. Spiritualibus spiritalia promisit; electis ad gratiam, tum ex Judeis tum gentibus; qui veri sunt *filii promissionis*; quibus dictorum Dei est constans veritas.

Carnalis ergo Judeus incredulus non fefellit fidem veritatemque Dei, nec fecit quominus Deus fidelis esse videatur; quoniam tali non erat magna promissio Dei, sed Judeo spiritali; cujusmodi potest esse Judeus carnalis, si voluerit, immo si illum arripuerit gratia. Quanquam non crediderint eloquiis Dei, credere poterunt tamen Christo Iesu. Qui primam frustraverunt gratiam, participes poterunt esse secundæ. Est, ut scribit Joannes, *gratia pro gratia; quia* Ioan. i. 16,
lex per Moysen data est; gratia et veritas per Iesum Chris- 17.
tum facta est. Si evacuaverint imaginem, capi tamen poterunt ab ipsa veritate.

Deus est verus, et scit quorsum promisit. Quod ille predixit fore, fiet. Non pendet ex hominibus voluntas Dei; sed homines ex illius voluntate dependent. Quomodocunque homines falsi et mali fuerint, Deus semper verus est, et illius sapientia et verbum infallibile; sicut scriptum est a regio propheta Daud: *Ut justificeris in* Ps. l. 6.
sermonibus tuis, tu Deus verus, et vincas quum judicaris, et condemnaris a stultis, qui non intelligunt rationem dictorum tuorum; quæ celestis et spiritalis est, non carnalis. Et quos statuit Deus unus verificari, verificabuntur illi et justificabuntur. Nulla hominum malitia interrumpet cursum et propositum voluntatis et graciæ Dei. Vult illius bonitas omnem malitiam superare; et, ut verba illius suam habeant veritatem, vult exaugere suam immensam pietatem, et eo largiorem gratiam effundere, quo crevit hominum malitia; ne humana iniquitas divinam bonitatem impediât.

Ut morbus se auget, ita simul augenda est medicina; atque proculdubio, ut redundavit peccatum, ita superhabun-

davit gracia; ut divina pietas necessarium suum propositum in electis habeat. Fiet quod fiet, indubitanter, quod in decretis est Dei; et salvi erunt qui salvi erunt.

Itaque Judei quanquam, increduli eloquiis Dei, vehementer peccaverunt, tamen in illis prestabit Deus promissa, tametsi ampliori gracia et gloriosiori misericordia propter magnitudinem peccati eorum; et quos decrevit salvandos cum gentibus consalvabit.

Quamobrem dicendum est, incredulitatem Judeorum non evacuassee fidem Dei et pollicitam justificationem, sed potius fecisse ex consequenti, ut loquuntur scolastici, ut justificatio major in illis et copiosior gracia appareat. Illorum iniquitas revera justiciam Dei illam justificantem commendavit, ostenditque plane quam maximam fuisse.

Sed ut hoc loco audientes Judei, in incremento peccati eorum excrevisse gratiam et justiciam justificantem, ne stulte dicant: *Si autem iniquitas nostra, aucta et accumulata, justiciam Dei illam bonam justificantem commendat, et ostendit evidentiorē; sique in nostro peccato illius gracia exuperet ad majorem illius gloriam et nostram utilitatem; non est causa tunc cur irascatur nobis peccatoribus, quandoquidem in nostris malis ille melior, et in obscuritate nostra ille gloriosior, existat:—O male Judee, malis omnia mala sunt; et jam optima, et quod dexterrime dicitur, tu sinisterre interpretaris, ad condemnationem tui. Bonus est Deus, et malis melior (ut secundum hominem loquar); sed severiter justus erit, et exactissime depuniens sua abutentes bonitate; qui in bonitate misericordiaque Dei pergunt in malitia. Illis justicia justificans, quæ est gracia, convertetur in iudicium. Quo longius progrediuntur in malitia superbi, eo magis intendit arcum suum Deus, fortiusque percutiet. Improbe Judee, an divitias bonitatis ejus, et patientiæ, et longanimitatis contemnis? Ignoras quia benignitas Dei ad penitentiam te adducit? Secundum duritatem autem et impenitentem cor tuum thesaurisas tibi iram Dei in die iræ? Ista detestabilis presumptio maxime damnabitur.*

Non dicat ergo quispiam, *iniquum esse Deum, qui infert iram. Longe absit hoc ab ore humano; quia tollit iudicium Dei et hujus mundi hominum condemnationem. Condem-*

nabitur quidem hic mundus, et homines hujus mundi universi.

Voco hominem hujus mundi eum qui natus est in hunc mundum ad mortem, non renatus gracia et baptismo ad immortalitatem in Christo Iesu. Qui vero regeneritus est Deo ex aqua et spiritu sancto, is homo alterius mundi est, illius celestis et superni. Qui juste deseruntur hujus mundi homines, peribunt: qui gracia eliguntur spontanea Dei misericordia, salvi erunt in salvatore Iesu.

Sed quanquam *iniquitas nostra commendet justiciam Dei* illam justificantem, faciatque ut gracia abundet, potest tamen Deus *inferre iram*; ut more hominum loquar. Id est quod Paulus dicit, *secundum hominem dico*—id est, more Rom. iii. 6. humano, et Deo humanitus tribuens illi affectus humanos, qui revera non irascitur. Potest, inquam, Deus ulcisci damnareque peccata nostra, tametsi causæ sint majoris graciæ apparentis in his qui salvantur. Quanto gravius peccaveris tu, qui majori et veriori gracia salvaris, tanto cruciatius punire poterat te idem Deus, si voluisset. Non est illius misericordia necessaria, sed arbitraria. Quos salvarit, eosdem potuit justissime condemnare; et in quibus ostendit majorem graciã, in eosdem potuit exercere majus judicium.

Si enim veritas Deo in meo mendatio abundavit in gloriam ver. 7. *ipsius, est Deus verus, omnis homo mendax*; si divina veritas abundavit in humano mendatio, et humana falsitas si fecerit Deum veriolem, et promissis fideliolem; et, quatenuscunque peccaverimus, si ille nihilominus misertus fuerit nostri, et id quoque cum majori sua gloria, quo magis peccavimus ipsi; *quid adhuc*, tantus peccator ego homo, *tanquam peccator judicor*, condemnor; et non potius magnifiam habearque in precio, quod peccans materia sum manifestationis gloriæ Dei? Et quare *non faciamus mala ut* ver. 8. *veniant bona*? quando in malis nostris Deus videtur gloriosior:—*sicut blasphemamur a calumniatoribus, et sicut aiunt quidam nos dicere.*

Quia Paulus predicavit, in majori peccato hominum majorem graciã apparuisse per Iesum Christum in justificationem, ex hoc quasi ansam nacti improbi calumniatores

sinistrique interpretes, livida lingua jactitarunt in vulgus Paulum animasse homines ad peccatum; predicasseque auctis peccatis gratiam Dei et gloriam fore auctiorem: *quorum calumniatorum damnatio justa est.*

Qui male audiunt, omnium damnatissimi erunt illi mali auditores bonæ veritatis Dei. Ita sæpe auditus fuit Iesu a perfidis Judeis; ita, ut ex hoc loco agnoscere possumus, magnus concionator veritatis, Paulus, auditus fuit. Bonum liquorem, ut vasa fetida, in malum saporem verterunt; *quorum damnatio justa est*; qui malum approbant, et tollunt timorem judicii Dei, et improbe calumniantur, et querunt defensionem peccati eorum.

Itaque ostensum est Judeos non habere quicquam amplius, nec *precellere* gentibus justiciam, sed potius inferiores esse: acceperisse eloquia; neglexisse eadem: non tamen gratiam evacuisse eos, sed majori gratia salvari posse: non tamen peccare debere, ut illis major sit gratia; sed agnoscere peccata sua, et fugere ad gratiam per fidem, et in gratia tandem finem facere peccandi. Sumptuosiori gratia redimuntur homines, ut egressi carcerem iniquitatis non rursus incarcerationentur. Ubi misertus est, irasci potuit Deus; et damnare ubi salvavit. Judei quanquam dignissimi erant damnatione, tamen predestinatos in eis salvare voluit multo copiosiori gratia; ut fidelis promissis esse videatur.

Annotandum est in hoc loco Dei justiciam esse duplicem: una vindicans est, quæ ira est Dei; altera justificans, quæ gratia est Dei. De hac sermo est hic Pauli; quæ peccatoribus magna est, et plus peccantibus major, et maximis maxima:—illis videlicet, qui gratia gratis justificantur. Aliis vero justitia vindicans et ulciscens est. Ubi Deus justificat justitia justificante, potest damnare justitia vindicante. Aliqui sunt vasa iræ; aliqui vasa misericordiæ. Est in hominibus et nox et dies, ut Deus voluerit: cujus voluntatis non est ratio; sed ipsa voluntas omnis est ratio. De qua nemo disputet; sed amet quisque, ac omni amore et reverentia de ea cogitet.

Judei quanquam peccaverint non credentes eloquiis Dei, creditis et commissis illis; egueruntque inde majori justitia justificante, quæ gratia est; commendaveruntque incre-

mento peccati Dei gratiam et justificantem justiciam, quoniam sub lege plus peccaverunt, et majori gratia eguerunt ad salutem; tamen nec Judei, nec quisquam alius debet peccare, ut gratia veraque Dei justitia justificans abundet. Quoniam peccata majora ut sanentur egent majori gratia, ita exposcunt majorem vindictam si damnarentur.

Judei erant increduli eloquiis Dei, et ideo magis peccatores, magisque damnandi; et ob id causæ egentes majori gratia: commendantes justiciam justificantem si salventur, quoniam potuit Deus inferre iram et damnationem; et eo majorem, quo incredulitas eorum erat major, et mendatium majus. Tamen velit potius miserere, et justificare omnes credentes per Iesum Christum: non ut peccemus ad incrementum gratiæ, et ut justificatio augeatur; sed ut gratia justificati tandem peccare desistamus. Non augendum est peccatum, ut abundet gratia; sed Deus auxit gratiam, ut peccatum deficiat. Non augendus est morbus quidem, ut medici major ars appareat; sed ostendit medicus majorem artem majoribus morbis, ut morbus deficiat penitus, et sanitas maneat.

Ex majori gratia Judeis, erat in illis majus et gravius peccatum; incredulitasque eorum erat major quam gentium: atque ut ex gratia Dei creditisque illi genti eloquiis abundavit peccatum eorum, ita ex peccato Judeorum abundavit gratia, et justitia justificans illos qui justificantur. Iccirco peccantes gratiam et veritatem Dei non evacuerunt, nec fecerunt quo minus Deus fidelis prestet promissa, misereaturque gentis Judeorum; eorum saltem quorum voluerit; sed peccata potius gratiam et veram justiciam justificantem commendarunt, quandoquidem ad eos salvandos opus fuit majori gratia. Quatenus erant electi ad eloquia Dei, prestabant Judei gentibus: quatenus vero eadem neglexerunt, erant gentibus inferiores, et peccatis egriores.

Promissa Dei erant spiritalia spiritalibus Judeis; illi qui Judei sunt non in manifesto, sed in occulto; *quorum laus est a Deo*. Hi sunt fideles, circumcisi corde; in quibus magna Dei gratia poterunt esse Judei, quanquam parum creduli eloquiis Dei: dummodo Christo, misso suppletori

legis, crediderint. Credentibus fideliter Deus promisit. Rom. ix. 27. Judei aliquando credent. Ut prophetavit Paulus, *reliquiæ eorum salvi fient*. Bona etiam pars credidit.

Itaque fit, quanquam *quidam* Judeorum *non crediderint*, tamen Deum fidelem et verum esse in illis quos proposuit, proposito voluntatis suæ, in laudem graciæ suæ. Sed vagamur nimium: redeamus ad textum.

Rom. iii. 9. *Quid ergo?* quando nos Judei (erat enim Paulus etiam Judeus) increduli eramus eloquiis Dei, et valde offendimus Deum, graciaque illius abusi sumus, *precellimus eos gentiles?* quasi diceret, minime: quinimmo inferiores sumus, quando data lege vivendi magis peccavimus. *Nequaquam excellimus. Causati enim sumus omnes, Judeos et Grecos, sub peccato esse: universi peccaverunt, et gentes sine lege,* et Judei sub lege: *sicut scriptum est a regio propheta David, Quia non est justus quisquam opere, nec intelligens cognitione, nec requirens, discens. Omnes declinaverunt a rectitudine, simul inutiles facti, infructuosi, quia non est qui faciat bonum fructum, non est usque ad unum: ne unus quidem est. Aliqui exponunt, ad unum Christum; qui solus in humano genere bonus erat. Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum, fetens fetore cadaverosæ mentis, semper mala machinantis: linguis suis dolose agebant, loquuti dolum; venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum: expuerunt venenosa verba maledica; quorum os maledictione et amaritudine plenum est. Res amara est maledictio: contra benedictio dulcis est. Veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem, currentes ad homicidia. Contritio et infelicitas in viis eorum: infelix cursus ad mortem; viam pacis non cognoverunt. Pax Christi est: beati pacifici. Non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum, quo abstinerent a peccatis.*

Hæc David propheta predixit plane de Judeis: quia ver. 19. *scimus, quæcunque lex loquitur, his qui in lege sunt, loquitur.*

Lex aliquando significat dumtaxat quinque libros Moyses, aliquando eos cum prophetis. Lex ad Judeos pertinet: quare his verbis predicati sunt Judei universi peccatores simul cum gentibus; *ut omne os obstruatur; etiam Judeorum, qui soliti erant vocare gentes peccatores: et subditus fiat omnis mundus Deo, et graciæ illius: quia ex operibus*

ver. 20.

legis corporalibus non justificatur omnis caro—nemo homo Judeus—*coram Deo*, qui spiritus est justiciamque velit spiritalem. *Per legem cognitio peccati*, quæ docuit transgressionem. Modis positis et diffinitis terminis, transilitio patuit. Sine lege ignorantes peccaverunt: sub lege docente, sapientes. Lex magistra erat et pedagogus; jubens bonum et prohibens malum, sed non potentes observare. Per legem ergo Judei magis sapientes erant quam boni: per gratiam vero omnes magis boni quam sapientes.

Nunc autem, in hoc tempore novissimo gratiæ, Christo ver. 21. illucente in cordibus, *justicia Dei*, spiritalis illa abundantior et perfectior, *sine lege carnali manifesta est*; ut nunc in Christo nihil opus sit lege. Ille venit adimpletor legis; ille perfecit precepta abundantiori justitia; ille illustravit umbras choruscante veritate; ille ipse sol justitiæ est; tota et vera lex in seipso, ut contenti ipso nullam aliam legem requiramus; testificata a lege Moysaica et prophetis, in quibus sunt . . . predictiones *justitiæ Dei per fidem Jesu Christi*, ver. 22. *in omnes et super omnes*, ut intus et foras appareant just, *qui credunt in eum* Christum se [esse] illum in veritate.

Hæc justitia modo apud Paulum *fides Jesu*, modo *justitia ex fide* dicitur. Id genus dictionis habet Paulus suum et peculiare. Hæc vera et perfecta lex est, qua legem carnis supplevit Christus; qui *non venit legem solvere, sed adimplere*, Matt. v. 17. et quasi legis mortuum corpus animare spiritali fide. Hac abundantiore lege prestat Christiana civitas, *in monte posita*, quæ ecclesia fidelium est, quæ constat ex Judeis et gentibus. *Non enim est distinctio*. Indifferenter, uti libet Deus, sua gratia apprehendit tum Judeos tum gentes. Ex materie peccatorum construxit suam ecclesiam sanctam. *Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gratia*—omne genus hominum. Judei deliraverint a lege; gentes degeneraverint a natura; et egent gratia Dei justificante, et adjumento celesti desuper, quæ revocet, restauret, restituat hominem Deo. *Justificati gratis per gratiam ipsius*, ver. 23. sola misericordia ver. 24. et bonitate Dei; facti just, ex peccatoribus, non meritis et viribus nostris, nec conamine nostro, sed sola potentia et benignitate Dei, *gratis, per revelationem quæ est in Christo Jesu*.

Jesus, Deus homo factus, persoluto precio sanctissimæ

ver. 25.

Phil. iv.
18.

suæ mortis, redemit nos et mortem nostram. Moriens Jesus pro universo mundo, alioquin in eternum morituro, delegit et vendicavit sibi jure suo quos voluit, quos justificavit Patri suo : *quem proposuit Deus propitiatorem*. Deus, Pater noster celestis, a quo omnia, ille *proposuit Iesum propitiatorem*, qui se ipso in ara crucis propitiali hostia propitiaret placaretque propitiabilem Deum hominibus, redderetque illum placidum et faventem qui erat iratus. Deus Pater proposuit filium suum eternum propitiatorem et placatorem ; quem voluit nobis esse proximum, assumpta nostra natura mortali. Hic erat Samaritanus ille evangelicus, qui appropinquavit homini spoliato et vulnerato. Is altissimus erat nobis prope humilimus, ut homines Deo reconciliaret *per fidem in sanguine ipsius* ; si credentes speremus in illo tanto sacrificio mundanti et reconcilianti. Illa erat mactata hostia propitalis, placida et placans, *hostia in odorem suavitatis*.

ver. 26.

Antiquus Abraam, id est, Deus, obtulit proprium Filium pro salute hominum, *ad ostensionem justitiæ suæ* ; ut ostendat Deus Pater suam justiciam justificantem, id est, misericordiam ; propter *remissionem precedentium delictorum*. Nam quam misericordissime remisit omnia preterita peccata, quantacunque maxima antecesserint, omnibus qui in fide mortis Christi baptizati sunt Deo ; ut deinceps sancti et immaculati vivant cum ipso in sustentatione Dei. Remittuntur peccata, ut homo deinde vivat paciens in bonitate, sustinens Deum et sustentus a Deo, *ad ostensionem justitiæ ejus*. Deus Pater ita misericorditer egit, ut ostenderet justiciam suam justificantem et gratiam, *in hoc tempore*, maturo et pleno ac oportuno.

Opportunitates temporum novit solus Deus. Ut in morbis corporalibus est medicinæ adhibendæ opportunitas ; ita in peccante mundo, quicquid agat Deus, vel juvenis vel puniens, sunt suæ actionis temporum opportunitates, illi soli cognitæ. Tempus exercendæ gratiæ, quod fecit primo adventu Christi Iesu ; et tempus exercendæ vindictæ, quod faciet secundo adventu Christi ; nemo novit nisi solus Deus : *ut sit ipse justus, et justificans eum, qui ex fide est Iesu Christi*. Proposuit Iesum propitiatorem per fidem ; ut ipse

Deus Pater Christi sit justus, fidelis promissis, et justificans justitia justificante eum quencunque, *qui ex fide est Iesu Christi*; qui habet omnem suam spem et fidutiam in Christo, et speret in morte redimente illius, quæ sancta sanctificavit. Quoniam in Iesu, in redemptione illius, in auditione doctrinæ, in imitatione vitæ, est sola et unica et certissima spes vitæ eternæ in ipso.

Quapropter assidue memoranda est mors illa prepotens Christi, mortificans mortem; doctrina Iesu auscultanda; vita illius semper. præ oculis habenda; ut sperantes in morte, credentes sapientiæ, approximantes bonitati, quod ille Iesus prior adeptus est in gloria, idem in eodem prope-modum assequamur.

Ubi est ergo gloriatio tua? tu Judee arrogantior, qui ver. 27.
superbis in lege, quam nunquam revera observasti, ad mentem legis saltem, tametsi forsan aliquando observasti eam aliquatenus in ceremoniis et corporalibus actionibus: quasi diceret, nunc justitia de celo ostensa per Christum; gloriatio tua exclusa est. *Per legem factorum?* Per aliquamne legem, precipientem opera carnis corporalesque ceremonias? *Non*: quia hæc lex Christi non est ejusmodi, sed spiritalis; et talis etiam factorum non excludit facta vestra. *Sed* per legem? *per legem fidei*; per justiciam justificantem in Christo Iesu; per fidei justiciam; per justiciam in Christo uno, dum adhibemus fidem et speremus in ipso, in participatione graciæ Dei justificantis, per ipsum Christum in ipso. Hæc spes et sequela Christi justitia est, et lex, omnem aliam legem discutens. Hæc fides quæ tantopere laudatur, et tam celitus justificat, est fides Christi, cum imitatione ejusdem et representatione: est vera Christianitas: est pl[ena] perfectaue justitia, quæ est perfectorum filiorum Dei; quam Jesus ipse, spes nostra, describit apud Matheum, in monte docens: quæ justitia, ut summam dicam, consistit in contemptu terrenorum, et ardenti desiderio celestium; in patientia omnis mali; in actione omnis boni, in omni tempore, et ad omnes, coram Deo, in timore illius, pro mercede celesti; in vera pura, simplici, constante bonitate; quæ nequit aliter atque optime facere. Qui, non habita ratione externorum, vere bonus in se ubique

et semper et apud omnes et ad omnes, pro modo bonitatis suæ, ad ultimum posse bene agit, contentus sua bona actione, etiam si profuerit nihil, etiam si indignus fuerit cui voluit prodesse. Ut ignis urit in lapides, ita bonus benefacit malis.

- ver. 28. Hæc est lex fidei, quæ excludit Judeorum et omnem legem. *Arbitramur enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis.* Nos, inquit Paulus, credimus plane hominem justificari, justumque fieri, per fidem veram in Iesu, dummodo ex fide propinquus illi sit, assimuleturque Christo, *sine operibus legis*, quæ frequentarunt Judei. Intelligit sacrificia, ritus, ceremonias, cultumque corporalem; in quo assidui notabili superstitione erant illi veri Judei. His operibus legis omissis, si quispiam operetur Christum, justificabitur, sive Judeus sive gentilis sit; quia *non est distinctio*: bonus Jesus recipit omnes indifferenter. An
- ver. 29. *Judeorum Deus tantum*, qui est omnium, *nonne est gentium?* Immo et *gentium*, qui per Christum salvi esse
- ver. 30. possunt. *Quoniamquidem unus est Deus*, Pater, *qui justificat*, justum facit, *circumcisionem*, circumcisos Judeos carnaliter, *ex fide* in Iesu, si se circumcidant ab omni peccato, et immaculati in Christo Christianiter vivant; *et preputium*, gentes gestantes preputium carnale, si illi quoque sperantes in Christo vestigiati sequantur illum, *per fidem*, quæ per dilectionem operatur Christum; alioquin non est fides. Esse talem, quoad poteris, qualis fuerit Christus, justificatio est.
- ver. 31. *Legem ergo destruimus per fidem?* Absit. Nemo sapiens hoc dicat. Justitia justiciam non tollit. Lex erat bona et justa, sed rudis et inchoata rudibus. Fides et Jesus pollitior, perfitorque justicia est: semiplenam legem complet. Propterea dixit ille: *Non veni solvere legem, sed adimplere*; ut in ejus abundantiori justicia homines, perfecti filii Dei, ingrediantur regnum celorum. Hoc est dictu: nisi supra legem Moysaïcam habueritis fidem et imitationem mei, et feceritis melius quam lex jubet, vobis in celum non patebit aditus. In uno Christo recapitulantur
- Mat. v. 17. omnia; *et quæ in celis, et quæ in terra sunt.* Quicquid justiciæ est legis, vel preceptum vel adumbratum, id in
- Eph. i. 10.

Christo Iesu est; et preterea quod reliquum est totum justiciæ: qui erat omnis justitia, ut plena lex ipse appareat hominibus; ut credentes in Christo, præter ipsam, nullam aliam legem requirant. Itaque fides Iesu non *destruit legem, sed statuit* et construit, promovet et perficit illam.

Qui trahit aliquid in melius, id non tollit, sed ponit et constituit. Jesus vetus testamentum Dei illustravit suo novo perfectiori: non diripuit testamentum, sed stabilivit; et presens testis illam semiplenam testationem, voluntatem Dei complens, contestatus est. Ita in hominis testamento, quæ suprema voluntas est, quam jurisconsulti vocant justam sententiam de eo quod post mortem nostram fieri voluerimus; in hac quoque dicere possumus eam non ruptam nec fractam, si post mortem testatoris a divino aliquo homine trahatur in melius, et meliori voluntate fit majus bonum quam ille moriens voluerit. Id non est infringere testamentum, sed perficere: id non est tollere, sed statuere. Illum quoque testatorem credimus quod melius et Deo gratius est voluisse: eaque mente decessisse, ut sua voluntas illa ultima in meliori voluntate, si qua fuerit, perficiatur. Velle enim debet quisque optimum, tametsi nequit optimum perficere. Nam hoc potentiæ est: illud bonitatis. Nemo debet velle minus bonum. Optare debemus optima: porro facere pro posse. In non faciendo optimum indulgentia est: porro non velle optimum, optimumque recusare oblatum, inveniale est.

Huc spectat, uti mihi videtur, illa testamentorum probatio, quæ hac tempestate celebratur a ministris ecclesiæ; magis ad turpe lucrum eorum, quam ad testamentorum examinationem: sed debent¹ testamenta filiorum ecclesiæ, quasi libra charitatis perponderare, et considerare singula in eis; item addere, diminuerere, immutare; ut ratio et bilanx charitatis exposcit: postremo tum rata habere ea et firma, quando ad normam et regulam charitatis rediguntur ab eo episcopo, penes quem in Dei gracia est autoritas et potestas.

¹ Debere, MS.

Iesus voluntatem Dei illam veterem suo adventu perduxit in perfectius. Itaque legem non infregit sed complevit. Quare inquit Paulus, *sed legem statuimus*.

INTER vetus et novum testamentum hoc interest, quod vetus inchoatum et ad tempus erat; novum perfectum et eternum. Vetus maxime corporis erat; novum maxime animi et spiritus. Vetus severiter punit; novum misericorditer ignoscit. Unde fit ut vetus timeatur, novum adametetur. Item vetus adumbravit; novum claris coloribus illustrat. Vetus deterruit carnales; novum delectat spirituales. Sub veteri, homines maxime erant corporales; sub novo, spiritus sunt. In veteri consideratur corpus; in novo spectatur anima. In veteri descendit Deus per Moysen ad homines; in novo ascendunt homines ad Deum per Iesum Christum. In veteri incarnabatur lex homini: in novo spiritificatur homo legi, videlicet charitatis. In veteri erant dura imperia infirmis, et non valentibus obedire; in novo mollis hortatio est, et gracia dans facultatem inserviendi. In veteri audierunt justiciam; in novo fiunt iusti. In veteri indicabatur impotentia humana; in nova declaratur potentia divina. In veteri erat indulgentia affectibus humanis, et multa permissio; in novo est affectuum extinctio penitus, et libera et spontanea in superiori gradu statio.

CHRISTIANUS quisque, et vivens et moriens, oportet omnia velit in voluntate Dei et ministrorum ecclesiæ, et velit quod sit optimum; et etiam divinosque ministros sinat in se velle efficereque quod sit optimum: alioquin non est amator optimi qui Deus est.

Hinc testamentum hominis, et suprema voluntas, diffinitur justa sententia ejus quod velit aliquis post mortem fieri. Justa est quando consona est voluntati divinæ; cujus interpretes ministri sunt ecclesiæ illi qui veri sunt et legitimi. Consona est legi divinæ, quando pia et religiosa est, quando querens divinum honorem, quando charitate plena est, quando consulens hominibus et ecclesiæ, quando non adversaria inditio meliori, quando non est contra bonos

mores, toleratas leges, laudabiles consuetudines; quando est cum omni honestate, cum omni possibilitate. Id genus testamenti nec infringi nec violari debeat. Quando vero non congruit voluntati Dei, nec habet pietatem, nec olet charitatem, nec fructum aliquem in gracia, sed dispendium secundum humanum affectum, tunc id dirumpi et potest et debet.

Est annotandum quod divus Augustinus, in quodam sermone de vita clericorum, scripsit quod positum in Decretis legitur *Oa. 17. q. ulti*:—*Quicumque exheredato filio heredem faciat ecclesiam, querat alium qui suscipiat, non Augustinum.* Voluntas hominis saltem Christiani, ut in vita, ita in morte et post mortem, subjecta sit. Mala voluntas ad bonum revocari debet; bona promoveri in meliorem: melior perfici potest. Ad id quod melius est, nihil obstat. Velint ipsæ animæ solutæ in terra quod melius est, dummodo in gracia sint, qui viventes totiens repetiverint: *Fiat voluntas Dei, sicut in celo, et in terra.* Aliquid in melius ducere, non est infringere sed firmare; non est solvere, sed perficere.

DEUS unus est omnium indifferenter et equaliter. Non præaccipit personas in hominibus. Ut vult ipse, et quos vult, justificat gratis; atque ut promisit fore antiquo suo testamento, efficiet. Fidelis enim est, *ut justificetur in* iii. 4. *sermonibus suis.* Fiet in re quod dixerit illis, et eo modo quo dixerit. Falli non potest Deus: falluntur homines in veritate illius; qui *verax est: omnis autem homo mendax.*

O MEDIUM ineffabile, admirandum et adorandum Iesum, Dei et virginis filium. Per te, colende Iesu, propitiatur Pater tuus Deus hominibus. Per te homines reconcilianatur Deo. Per tuam mortem redemptio; per tuum sanguinem lotio; per tuam potentem passionem demonum discussio; per te sacrificium Dei propitiatio; per te est homunculis gratis justificatio, salus, vita eterna. Amen.

FIDES hæc bona opinio, spes, et certa confidentia in uno Iesu est eterno, ut in ipsa veritate qui non fallit, et in

ratione vivendi et via illius firma sequela et consequutio. Assecclæ illius sunt veri, qui tantopere fidunt in eo, ut in ipso, et per ipsum, et cum ipso, indubitanter credant, et anima et corpore se aliquando in celo immortales fore. Ii a tanta fide ejus sectatores fideles nuncupantur; et illorum scola ecclesia fidelium est. Hi sunt ab ipso Christo Christiani vocati, Christi sequaces omnes, fide tracti ad ipsum, et ducti in ipso; ut cum ipso veniant ad vitam immortalem. Hæc est justitia glorificans, fidelis sequela Christi, *justitia fidei, ex fide, per fidem*. In hac qui sunt, una cum Iesu in monte sunt; civitas sancta, sal terræ, lux mundi, viventes abundantiori justitia, perfecti filii Dei, novies beati cum Iesu; hinc se conferentes festinanter in patriam illam, ad quam vocantur redempti.

iii. 4.

OMNIS homo mendax: omnes erant peccatores longe a gracia Dei, in carcere servitutis peccati, in potestate diaboli; et Judei in lege, et gentiles extra legem. *Omnes declinaverunt*; nulla spes hominibus erat salutis, nisi ex gracia Dei per Iesum Christum; cui credendum est, ut omnes credentes illi gratis justificentur per ipsum, et in ipso, sine quovis alio; per quem preterita peccata redimuntur. Servi qui eramus, universi liberamur. Inimici Dei reconciliamur. Veritati credimus. Bonitate et gracia justificamur. Omnia hæc quidem *gratis*; ut agnoscamus misericordiam Dei mirificam, et amemus optimum Deum, et illi omni charitate serviamus, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

Matt.
xxviii. 19.

BAPTISMA divinum est piamentum, quo Deus tum corpora tum animas eorum qui sectæ sunt Iesu Christi, expiat, purgat, et purificat penitus ab omni piaculo, crimine et flagitio. Hoc sacramentum instituit Iesus ipse, quando jussit discipuli eant et baptizent *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*. Ejusdem etiam exemplum demonstravit Iesus ipse, qui voluit baptizari a Joanne, cognomento Baptista; ut sanctificaret aquas, utque plane ostendat quam feliciter descendit in eos Spiritus sanctus, qui ex aquis emergunt in Christum, et ex alto appellantur filii Dei.

Hoc sacramentum aqua benedicta et invocatione divinæ

trinitatis, his verbis rite et legitime prolatis—*Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*—constat. Hæc verba nec immutari, nec inverti, nec infringi, nec suppressi, nec vaste exprimi; sed bona fide, et spe, plene, clare et dilucide proferri debent.

Ad incrementum fidelium, larga gracia licet cuique, nemine excepto, hoc sacramentum necessitatis tempore ministrare; dummodo statuatur facere quod ecclesia Christi facit, tametsi in ipsa ecclesia non credat. Verum inferior in omni ecclesiastico munere cedat superiori.

Baptizandus natus sit, ut renascatur hoc sacro piameto, memoria et fide passionis et mortis Christi. Ita spiritus hominum purificantur, adeoque perspicui fiunt, ut tum decedens evestigio in gloriam evolet, dummodo penitentia justa antecesserit. Nam hoc et Ioannes et Iesus concionantes, in exordio, dicentes *Penitentiam agite*, exposcebant.

Mat. iii.
2; iv. 17.

Hoc sacramento insigniuntur homines in plebem peculiarem Dei, nota et caractere indelibili. Hoc sacramento refrigeratur ardor peccati (qui fomes dicitur), et multa ex alto gracia confertur. Hoc sacramento moreris mundo, incipis vivere Deo; incedis suavis, candidus, lucidus in semita Christi. Id velit crisma candidum, candela, quæ baptizatus accepisti. Nemo respiciat, nemo recidat. Est opinio quorundam deleta peccata relabentibus omnia reverti. Id plane videtur parabola Christi de immisericordi servo contestari.

CAP. IV.

IN hoc quarto capite ostendit Abraam justum habitum fuisse ex fide sua, dumtaxat gracia Dei, antequam erat circumcisis: circumcisionem sequutam, signaculum fidei. Itaque illum parentem fuisse et circumcisorum et fidelium; sed justificationem omnium per fidem esse: porro legem minacem et prohibentem mala subjecisse Judeos iræ et iudicio. Petendam itaque justiciam, et ante legem et ante circumcisionem. In Abraam justiciam fidei antiquam et

spei in Deo. Ceremoniæ autem in corpore signa sunt spiritus. Lex sistit transgressionem, et revocat ad spiritum; sed non assequitur propositum sine gracia fidei. Reliqua ergo est sola fides et spes, in qua justificamur in Deo, per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.

Deus ipse est qui justificat gratis, merito proposito gratiæ suæ, credentes summi consilii angelo Iesu. Justificat hominis animam et spiritum spiritali justicia Deus, qui spiritus est. Scrutator et animadversor est cordis maxime, non umbrosæ carnis corporisque; cuius officia et actiones nec possunt facere homines justos, nec aliquatenus ad Deum promovere. Deus enim spiritus est spiritificans, apud quem nihil adest nisi fides habita Iesu, et expectatio premii, et in expectatione amabilis operatio:—*hæc tria, sed major horum charitas* et imitatio Iesu. Is sequitur Iesu vestigiis edificat supra firmam petram. Arbor fructuosa est. Non solum petit spe, et querit fide, sed etiam pulsat charitate. Non solum dicit *Domine, Domine*, sed addit tertium *Domine*; et faciens voluntatem Patris confitetur Iesum in operibus. *Ex fructibus eorum*, inquit, *cognoscetis eos*. Hæc secta Christi et philosophatio non tantum est verbis quam re, operibus, et vita ipsa. Et fides justificans importat in suo significato imitationem Christi, et cooperationem cum illo, quam alibi vocat Paulus *fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur*. Is censetur sperare in Deo et credere in Christo, qui operatur in Spiritu sancto. *Fides*, inquit Iacobus apostolus, *sine operibus mortua est*. Et Joannes subscribit: *Qui dicit se in Christo manere, debet, sicut ille ambulavit, et ipse ambulare*.

1 Cor. xiii. 13.
Mat. vii. 20.
Gal. v. 6.
Iac. ii. 20.
1 Io. ii. 6.

ABRAAM patriarcha justus erat et spiritu et carne, et apud Deum et apud homines; circumciscus in occulto, et circumciscus in aperto. Habuit simul et veritatem, et signum veritatis. Primum credidit, tum sacramentum accepit fidei, circumcisionem carnalem. Primum erat Christianus secundum fidem, deinde circumciscus secundum carnem. Jussus offerre unigenitum Isaac pro amore Dei, in spiritu didicit Deum Patrem oblaturum fuisse unigenitum suum Iesum pro

amore hominum. Abraam tunc *diem Christi vidit et gavisus est*; et fidem habuit in propitiabili illo sacrificio futuro. Itaque fidelis et Christianus apud Deum, prius quam circumciscus, gratus Deo, gratæ suæ fidei rude signaculum accepit in corpore, quandam apud homines fidei testationem. Nudata mente Deo, nudatur corpus; ut hoc illud testificetur.

Antiquior erat simplex mens in fide, quam simplex caro. Et a primo hominis casu omnes apud Deum habitati justii, prius mente crediderunt in Christo quem expectarunt, quam exierint in opus aliquod carnale; prius coluerunt Deum Patrem per Iesum animo et spiritu, quam aliqua actione corporali. Quem Iesum, revelatione ostensum, quando mente tenuerunt, illum expectantes, interea ad consolationem sui sepe similitudinibus et umbris quasi presentem sibi Christum fecerunt; et imaginariis sacrificiis, quasi quodam ludo, quod facturus erat Christus in vero sacrificio et in seipso, divino instinctu conati sunt pro viribus referre. Nam absente veritate quam tantopere amaverint, delectati sunt saltem imaginibus; in illis quod futurum erat quam verissimum contemplantes.

Adam, dejectus in miseriam suam, spiritu intellexit recuperaturum se felicitatem aliquando per Iesum Christum; de quo prophetavit quando dixit: *Relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et adheret uxori suæ*; id est, viragini ecclesiæ. Gen. ii. 24.

Abel ille justus, quem invidus Cayn occidit, pius pastor ovium, quid voluit, offerens de primogenitis gregis suæ, aliud quam significare pastorem ovium Dei Iesum fore; qui offerat semetipsum primogenitum, et ovem immaculatam, Deo, pro eis qui sunt predestinati ad salutem? Illam oblationem vultu propitio respexit Deus, propter significatum per ipsam.

Tercius ille ab Adam, Enos, qui *cepit invocare nomen Domini*, quod nomen aliud invocavit quam nomen Iesu? Gen. iv. 26.

Item septimus ab eodem Adam, Enoch ille, qui *cum Deo ambulavit*, quem postremo sibi Deus e medio tulit vivum; cum quo Deo alio ambulavit quam cum Christo; quem contemplan futurum studuit sedulo imitari? Gen. v. 22.

Noe quoque, natus decimus ab Adam, ad hominum con- Gen. v. 29.

Ib. vi. 9. *solationem, qui invenit gratiam coram Deo, qui justus atque perfectus cum Deo ambulavit, reservatus post diluvium, quidnam egit? Erigens altare Domino, et offerens ex mundis pecoribus holocausta, quæ tam suaviter olebant in naribus Dei,—quid (inquam) egit aliud quam, alte meditans Iesum crucifixum cum crucifixis suis, id est, martiribus, qui fuerunt sancti et immaculati; qui, conflagrantes charitate Deo et hominibus holocausta mortui fuerunt Deo:—quid denique egit aliud, quam tam memorabile sacrificium, aliquando futurum, quasi in depicta imagine commemorare? Post diluvium sequuta est conflagratio; post aquam ignis; post peccatum gracia in justificatis.*

*Lev. viii.
28.*

Duo sunt hominum genera, justi et peccatores. Hi obruntur diluvio peccatorum; illi charitatis incendio holocausta Deo offeruntur. Peccatoribus universis obrutis inundatione scelerum, reliqui justi flammigenæ, quos voco divini spiritus flamma genitos, omnes veri Christiani beata flagratione feliciter dii evadent; oblatis Deo *in odorem suavitatis*. Ut corporeus mundus finitur primum aqua, deinde igne, ita spiritalis consummabitur peccato et gracia. Peccato mergentur injusti ad mortem eternam; gracia ardebunt justi in vitam eternam. Hinc post diluvium, in quo depierunt peccatores apud Noe, sequuta est conflagratio, et gratum incendium mundissimarum hostiarum. Maxima pars hominum peccat in mortem eternam; pauci ardent in vitam eternam.

Sed quia de Noe loquenti calamo venimus in archam Noe, hic annotamus in archa etiam fuisse immunda pecora; item cum Noe injustus filius: per mundorum tamen sacrificium placatum fuisse Deum, et in mundos et in immundos. Ita in navicula ecclesia, cujus navarchus Christus est, multi introducuntur immundi et peccatores; nihilominus sacrificatis justis sustineri et salvari possunt.

Origenes affirmat unam vel maximam causam relictæ et corruentis mundi, esse defectum humanarum hostiarum; id est, martirum, qui sunt hostiæ propitiales pro peccato.

Porro Abraam, de quo nunc loquimur, quocum loquutus est Deus, et cum eodem egit graciosius quam aliquo patriarcha superiori (nam evocavit illum ad se in aliam terram;

multa et magna illi et semini ejus promisit, copiosam prolem, latum imperium, longam gloriam; postremo iniit fedus cum eodem, promittens se illi, si ille se redderet ei):—is Abraam, qui *perrexit semper versus meridiem*, qui religiosus totiens *erexit altare Deo, et Dei nomen invocavit*, luculento spiritu in eternitate vidit rationem salutis, Jesum Christum; quæ memorans lusit in imaginibus. In filio immolando recordatus est Dei Filium immolandum fore. Is credulus Deo, ob credulitatem et simplicem fidem habitus erat justus in conspectu Dei. Credidit facile etiam homini incredibilia, et credita firma spe expectavit. Hæc fides erat illius laus in spiritu; hæc justitia, nuditer et simpliciter habere fidem Deo. Hic *oculus simplex* erat lex Abræ, quæ *totum ejus corpus lucidum* fecit; qui prestitit in veritate ante imaginariam circumcisionem. Postea in corpore sequutum est signum veritatis, circumcisio; testimonium conveniens antecedentis fidei in præputio.

Gen. xii.
9.
Ib. ver. 8.

Aliquid sit extans oportet in sensu semper, monumentum apud homines, qui sensu duntaxat sensibilia spectant: quod qui exhibet et præsefert, iudicio hominum in justis computatur. Verum coram Deo, qui scrutator est cordis, talibus carnis observantiis non justificatur aliquid¹ sed fide. Operantibus corporaliter merces est debita; sed justificatio gratis credentibus. Nam per gratiam credunt homines, et per gratiam credentes justificantur. Opus autem carnis corporisque, sine iusticia fidei, in spiritu nihil est.

Mat. vi.
22.

Quid ergo dicemus invenisse Abraam patrem nostrum secundum carnem? Postquam respondit tacitæ objectioni de Judeo et lege, significans fidem esse legem justificantem, nunc alteri objecto vult respondere. Nam in secundo capite, quando conclusit omnia esse in spiritu, statim potuit exoriri aliquis Judeus carnalior, et interrogare, quid valeat lex Moysæica? item quid Abraamica circumcisio? Judeos modo omnes sub lege plane monstravit peccatores fuisse, ipso quoque legis testimonio. In hoc capite Abraam, cujus nomen reverentia plenum apud Hebreos fuit, ita extollit,

Rom. iv. 1.

¹ Leg. aliquis.

et eum tanta justitia peditum affirmat—videlicet, justitia fidei—ut cum justissimis Christianis conveniret.

Mira arte utitur hic divinus orator Paulus, et genere quodam orationis mirabiliter potente; quum acerbis dulcia, quum vulnerantibus lenientia commiscet. Superior oratio potuit offendere Judeos derogatione legis; hæc rursum eos placat sublimatione Abræ; quem predicat summe justum, tametsi aliter, alioque genere justitiæ, quam illi arbitrati sunt.

Quid ergo, si omnia sunt in occulto, in spiritu apud Deum, sique tota justitia est spiritalis, ad quam tam facilis accessus est gentili quam Judeo, dicemus invenisse Abraam patrem nostrum nominatissimum illum, secundum carnem et corpus cultumque corporalem? Respondet Paulus, justiciam Abræ secundum carnem cultumque corporalem, si qua sit appellanda, eam apud homines fuisse, non apud Deum. Deus intuitur cor: quare dicit, Si enim Abraam—
 ver. 2. *quasi diceret, Nolo predicare Abraam justum propter opera carnis; sed si Abraam ex operibus corporalibus, ex circumcissione et sacrificiis, justificatus est, habet gloriam et eam laudem justitiæ; sed non apud Deum, qui nihilipendet carnalia, sed apud homines duntaxat, et eos quoque qui pingui minerva¹ sunt; qui nihil advertunt nisi quod ante oculos observetur. Quid enim dicit scriptura sancta?*
 ver. 3.

Intelligit vetus testamentum, quæ absolute scriptura vocatur per excellentiam, propterea quod verba Dei scriptura continet. Cum Judeis agens, assidue consulit scripturas Paulus, quas novit illos libenter audire. Scriptura dicit quod sequitur: *credidit Abraam Deo, et reputatum est ei ad justiciam.* Hæc verba in libro Geneseos sunt. Regresso
 Gen. xv. 1, *Abraam a cede regum, visus est illi Dominus dixisse: Noli timere, Abraham; ego protector tuus, et merces tua magna nimis.* Tunc querenti de defectu liberorum, et dolenti heredem sibi futurum servum, respondit Dominus: *Non erit tibi heres tuus; sed qui egreditur de utero tuo, ipsum habebis heredem. Et eduxit illum foras, et ait illi: Suspice celum, et numera stellas, si potes; sic erit semen tuum. Tum dicit*
 sqq.

¹ Muner, MS.

scriptura: Credidit Abraam Deo, et reputatum est ei ad justiciam; quia adhibuit fidem promissis Dei, qui promisit ei prolem ad numerum stellarum. Ideo censetur justus ex promptitudine fidei; quæ res gratissima est Deo.

Adverte, quod jussit illum Deus suspicere celum, et numerare stellas, hoc significavit, filios Abræ promissos celestes homines futuros, non terrenos; filios et imitatores fidei, celesti gracia. Illæ stellæ in celo erant futuri stellares homines in celesti ecclesia; quorum patriarcha factus erat Abraam, quando credidit. Cujus quoque filii ex imitatione fidei nominati erant omnes qui essent credituri. Filius enim est verior qui refert spiritum hominis, moresque representat, quam qui ex carne traxit originem. Hac justitia fidei habuit gloriam Abraam apud Deum.

*Ei autem qui operatur, qui incumbit alicui operi faciendo, Rom. iv. 4. et laborat operarius, ei merces non imputatur secundum gratiam—non censetur donum gratuitum—sed secundum debitum. Justum est illi ut pro labore merces debita persolvatur. Ille Judeorum cultus corporalisque sacrificatio, item illi ritus multi et varæ ceremoniæ, in quibus Hebrei plurimum studii laborisque impenderunt, servilis labor et quasi navatio operæ erat, quæ exigebat suam mercedem debitam. At vero justis merces illa copiosa in celis non est debita sed gratuita, gratisque collata. Immo in ipsa quoque justitia, quæ videatur gloriæ coronam promereri, gratificatus est hominibus gratificus Deus: ut divus Augustinus dicit, coronantem Deum merita hominum sua ipsius dona coronare. Quapropter subdit Paulus: *Ei vero, qui non ver. 5. operatur corpore, nec laborat quicquam, credenti autem—sed tantum credenti—in eum, Deum gratificum, qui justificat impium—sine meritis omnino, et grato meroque beneficio fecit peccatorem justum justitia fidei—ei credenti reputatur fides ejus ad justiciam; et justus hoc solum est, quod credit mente, menteque laborat in imitatione Dei; secundum propositum graciæ Dei, et ultroneam collationem; qui pure et sponte, nullo antecedente¹ merito, nec expectato aliquo futuro, gratificatus est Deus inimicis suis peccatoribus, se-**

¹ Autem cedente, MS.

cundum propositum ejus, ut proposuit et voluit liberalitate et arbitrio suo; ut nulla sit alia justificandi ratio, quam pura simplexque Dei voluntas.

ver. 6.

Sicut et David dicit.—Adsciscit in testimonium David prophetam, qui suis carminibus cecinit *beatitudinem hominis*, eumque beatum esse, *cui accepto* gracia, et admissio ad donum Dei, *Deus fert*—confert—*justiciam sine operibus*; cui gratificatur Deus ex mera voluntate sua, nulla in hominibus exposcente causa, immo multa dehortante. Datio et retributio Dei prorsus gratuita est. Carmen David divini poetæ

Ps. xxxi.
1.

est: *Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates*—relaxata et soluta peccatorum vincula, quæ strictissime allegaverunt animas ad mortem eternam—*et quorum tecta sunt peccata*—absconsa ab oculis Dei, ut ea non despiciat in condemnationem peccatoris. Non enim est in homine quicquam nisi justissima causa mortis; non est quod promereatur gratiam, sed quod provocet iram. Peccavit homo humanumque genus ignoscibiliter: reliquum erat nihil homini misero nisi peccati stipendium mors. Erat homo operarius iniquitatis in cloacis diaboli; justa ei merces et debita erat damnatio.

Ib. ver. 2.

Idcirco *Beatus vir, cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum*. Revera beatus ille, quisquis sit, cujus peccata non computat nec numerat Deus, sed obliviscitur et quasi conniventibus oculis preterit.

O peccata horribilia in conspectu Dei; O hominis confusio! Conscius peccatorum meorum ego miser et erubescens mecum, subito hoc loco ad te, pietissimum Patrem Deum, exclamo alteque vocifero: *Peccata mea mihi ne imputes*.

Ps. cxxix.
3.

De profundis erumpit mihi hæc vox: *Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine, non sustinebo*. Confiteor me dignum morte; condemno meipsum; labore mergor in interitum;

Ps. cxx. 1.

vix audeo *levare oculos in montes, unde veniat auxilium mihi*. At vero illa tua verissima misericordia, quæ non considerat quid mereatur iniquitas mea, sed quid velit bonitas tua,—

Ps. xlii. 5.

illa jubet me dicere: *Quare tristis es, anima mea, et quare conturbas me? Spera in Deo; quoniam adhuc confitebor illi; salutare vultus mei, et Deus meus*. Illa dicit: *Mittam de summo, et accipiam te, et assumam te de aquis multis; et*

Ps. xvii.
17, 20.

educam te in latitudinem. Illa denique *salvum me faciet*,

quoniam volet me. Non enim est alia salutis ratio quam voluntas Dei.

Sed revertamur ad Paulum.

Beatitudo ergo hæc, et solutio a peccatis, et libertas in Rom. iv. 9.
Deo, mera et spontanea Dei gracia *in circumcissione tantum manet?* Estne hæc gracia duntaxat in Judeis? *An etiam in preputio?* Quasi diceret: etiam est gentibus et non circumcisis carnaliter. Quod probat exemplo Abraæ, cui, antequam circumcidebatur, Deus ignovit peccata, et eum fide justificavit. *Dicimus enim quia reputata est Abrahæ fides ad justiciam.* Confusus Deo justificabatur. *Quomodo* ver. 10.
ergo? in circumcissione, an in preputio? Non in circumcissione, quandoquidem adhuc non erat circumcisis, *sed in preputio*, gestans preputium priapi, antequam cepit circumcissionis ritus. Justicia ergo Abraæ non erat in circumcissione carnali, sed in mente circumcisa ab omni diffidentia Deo, et in simplici ac nuda fide; cujus paulo post signum sequutum est, mentulæ circulæ¹ circumcisio.

Et signum accepit Abraam circumcissionis, signaculum justiciæ fidei, quæ est in preputio. Circumcisio erat signum antecedentis fidei. Itaque Abraam erat fidelis, et incircumcisis et circumcisis; *ut sit pater omnium credentium per preputium*, gentium exemplariter; *ut reputetur par fides etiam illis gentibus ad justiciam* apud Deum; *et sit pater circumcissionis*, ver. 12.
omnium circumcisorum spiritaliter,² tum Judeorum tum gentium; *non his tantum, qui sunt ex circumcissione* carnali, si quando credant, *sed etiam his qui sectantur vestigia fidei*, fidelemque Abraam imitantur, quicumque sint illi et undecunque venerint; *quæ fides est in preputio patris nostri Abrahæ*: quæ fides prior est in patre Abraam, non circumcisio.

In illa altercatione Jesu magistri cum Judeis apud Joannem, insolenter contendentibus Judeis se liberos fuisse, et jactantibus se semen et filios Abraæ esse, eis respondit Jesus, servos illos fuisse quia peccatores; et in veritate filios Abraæ non fuisse, quando illius non sectati sunt vestigia fidei. Inquit enim: *Si filii Abrahæ estis, opera Abrahæ facite.* Io. viii.
39.

¹ Leg. circuli.

² Spiritaleque, MS.

Quo ostendit veriozem filiationem esse in imitatione vitæ et morum parentis, quam in participatione carnis. Imago vitæ et spiritus hominis filius est. In quos gracia et fides Abræe translata est, ii filii sunt Abræe. Hi verum semen apud Deum, ad quos tanta Dei promissa pertinent. Quæ qui potiri voluerit, enitatur ut fidem Abræe referat.

Rom. iv.
13.

Non enim per legem promissio.—Hic volumus digredi a proposito parumper, et de lege loqui; cujus significatus multiplex est, et jam valde confusus. Sed ut repetam altius ab ipso initio et fonte, unde manant omnia, lex ipsa Deus est divinaque voluntas. Is condidit omnia, et suum cuique finem posuit, et statuit pulchrum ordinem rerum. Denique pro viribus jussit quodque agat sancte et incorrupte, quod ad illius honorem et rerum conservationem communemque utilitatem pertineat. Hoc jus et jussum est divinum generale.

Transgressor hujus legis voluntatisque divinæ in mundana republica, imprimis natura angelica erat. Hic cepit in creatis injusticia et iniquitas. Hujus superbissimæ transgressionis princeps erat, quem vocamus dyabolum greca voce; quem Latini appellant criminatorem; propterea quod dejectus de celo (ut tradit Lactantius) non cessat Deum criminari. Non vult agnoscere proprium peccatum, sed superbia intolerabili Deum peccati insinulat. Rejicere crimen in alios, et se excusare, facereque se impeccabilem inculpatumque, abominabilis apud Deum insolentia est. Hic pater mendacii et iniquitatis, ex opposito se locans contra Deum (unde Sathanas vero, id est, adversarius) suam ipsius injusticiam in creaturis Dei, quoad maxime possit, non cessat propagare. Nam quatenus ei permittitur a Deo, importuna improbitate et malicia indicibili laborat, ut disturbet et evertat omnia. Ut enim a Deo omne bonum largitate et infusione perpetua, ita contra ex diabolo omne malum, deformitas, interitus, proficiscitur. Ille caligo lucis, distortio equitatis, labefactor omnis ordinis et pulchritudinis; ille omnis nostri fundi calamitas est. Ab illo primo transgressore legis divinæ, omnis in omnibus omnium justarum legum temeraria processit transgressio.

Homo autem, creatus in terra, positus in paradiso, loco

illo voluptatis, ut obediens Deo vivat, petitus a dyabolo infesta temptatione, statim transgressor divini mandati efficitur. Non contentus conditione sua, appetens altiora, e vestigio eversus dejicitur. O superbia cadens! O ambitio evertens! O inobedientia prosternens! Homo transgressor divinæ legis, destitutus multa gracia, ex alto et salubri illo loco, ubi vivitur eterniter, pulsus in hanc vallem contagiosam et pestilentem, misere degit morbidus et moriens omni hora. In pessima hac regione obliquatur voluntas, obtenebratur intellectus, infirmatur memoria, appetitiones carnis inflammantur, morborum et mortis causæ, tum corporum tum animarum, infinitæ sunt. Nihil hic est nisi iniquitas, ignorantia, imbecillitas, casus, interitus; nihil nisi frigus malitiæ, nisi caligo stultitiæ, nisi hyems mortis, dissolutio, devagatio, deformitas, extraordinaria vita, turpitudine, feditas. Author horum malorum, miserisæque humanæ, dyabolus, ex imo prorumpens, cum atro tetroque suo exercitu malignorum spirituum navat operam assidue, non solum ut hominem in hac infelicitate contineat, sed preterea ut exaugeat illi mala, et mala malis accumulet. Hoc iniquitatis diluvio obrutum humanum genus, non aliter atque pisces, passim suo ordine natant; huc atque illuc tendentes vagabundi, quo sua quemque libido et voluptas trahat.

Deus autem ex alto despiciens miserum hunc et perditum humani generis statum, semper ab initio aliquibus, uti voluit ipse, porrexit manum adjutricem, quos ab hoc letheo fluvio attraxit, ut respiciant celum patriamque antiquam, et Dei creatoris sui recordentur; utque contrariam ineant viam aliquatenus, et per obedientiam ac fidem ad Deum revertantur.

In hoc mundo erat Adam, et Enos, et Enoch, et Noe, et Abraam, et Melchisedech, et Isaac, et Jacob, et Joseph; ut perhibet vetustissimus Dei scribe Moyses. Hi extulerunt capita sua parumper super fluctus, ac in liquido spiritu Dei, tanquam in aere, suspexerunt solem justiciæ, Deum, ut poterant cecutientibus oculis. Anhelabant sursum, sacrificabant Deo, cum Deo ambulabant, alios ut secum in lucem contrahant conati sunt. In illo eternitatis lumine, qui emersi ex aquis peccati extiterint, id imprimis viderunt

felicitate, quasi in secretis Dei, futurum hominem suo tempore, quo medio resipiscat humanum genus, et si voluerit ad Deum revertatur. Illum venturum ceperunt amare et colere; illum vehementer desiderare: in illo omnem suam spem altissime positam habuerunt. Is erat tunc futurus sacratissimus Dominus noster salvator Jesus Christus; cum timore et reverentia semper nominandus. Illum, quatenus datum erat, nixi sunt imitari. Quod vero non potuerunt assequi adhuc imbecilles, vel in religione vel in iusticia, id honestis formulis effinxerunt, et quasi liniamentis quibusdam in rudiori materia adumbrarunt. Hæc erant eorum sacrificia mundorum, et holocausta in montibus; quibus voluerunt representare sacrificium sacrificiorum ipsum Jesum Christum: is enim solus sacrificium est, et propitiabilis hostia pro peccatis.

Reliqua autem turba fluctuans in mari iniquitatis, oblita Dei, ignora viæ, perversa voluntate stultissimas et iniquissimas leges condiderunt. Religio eorum idolatria erat, cultusque vanitatis. Iusticia eorundem iniusticia erat. Nimirum in tanta cecitate infirmitateque naturæ, quid poterat ab eis provenire, nisi iniquum, stultum et mortiferum? Hæc erant ante Christum et sine Christo in terra in peccatoribus jura gentium; id est, summæ hominum injuriæ. Hujus conditionis leges erant civiles, et suæ cujusque civitatis municipales; sive principum decreta, sive postremo inveterata vulgi consuetudo fuerit: quæ communi approbatione pro sancta lege ab hominibus solet haberi. Hæc leges erant plane a vinatis et corruptis hominibus corruptelæ, quoniam nec a Deo nec ad Deum derivatæ. Ignari finis, quorsum spectarent decernentes non cognoverunt. Hanc vitam considerantes duntaxat in cecitate, quid suaserit libido hujus vitæ, quid vana gloria, quæ propria utilitas, constituerunt. Hinc natæ sunt partes, divisiones, bella, mortes; hinc illegitimæ artes et exercitia inutilia; hinc turpes voluptates, damnosa lucra, voluntaria dispendia: qui ceci homines mala quæ vitare voluerunt, sibi paraverunt; ut dici in illos possit illud Daviticum: [*comprehenduntur in consiliis quibus cogitant*].

Ps. ix. 2.

Nulla erat hominis natura integra et incorrupta; nulla

ratio serena; nulla voluntas recta. Quicquid inter se egerunt ipsi, stultum et improbam erat. Quicquid jusserint faciendum, vel non faciendum prohibuerint, erat instabile et variatum, erat tenebrecosum, erat inutile et nocivum. Religio eorum meræ nugæ erant; quinimmo detestabilis insania. Hic erat fructus perditionis et profligati Adam, fructus marcidus et male olens in naribus Dei. Homo desertus et longe projectus a Deo habuit in se rationem nimirum corpori servientem; corpus libidini; libidinem dominantem. Dominatio servilis erat in hominibus; et maxime apud eos domini maxime servi erant, succumbentes et inservientes passionibus ignominiae; eo miseres ipsi quo magis irretiti tenebris sub principe tenebrarum imperarunt tenebricosis homunculis.

De hoc hominis infelicissimo statu loquutus est scienter Paulus noster, quando dixit in persona humani generis, Rom. vii.
9, sqq.
conquerens secum de humana miseria: *Ego vivebam aliquando sine lege*—intelligit Moysaicam—*ego mortuus sum; ego carnalis, venundatus sum sub peccato. Quod enim operor, non intelligo*—operor quasi nolens—*operatur vero quod habitat in me peccatum. Non habitat in me—id est, in carne mea—bonum. Est lex repugnans in membris meis, et captivans me in lege peccati.*

Mihi videtur pius Paulus flens hæc dixisse; tum postremo exclamat ejulans: *Infelix ego homo! quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus?* In gracia sobrie respondet: *gracia Dei, per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum.*

Vere et sapienter respondisti, Paule. Sola gracia morbis humanis mederi potest, a Deo per Deum hominem Iesum in homines derivata.

In qua gracia erant illi pauculi, ex priscis illis hominibus delecti, qui et prospexerunt futurum Iesum, et de eodem prophetaverunt. Reliqua hominum turba in universo mundo vixerunt sine gracia, in natura labefactata, et corrupta lege quæ vocatur naturæ; non simplicis, sanctæ et inviolatæ (nam hæc innocentia erat solum in paradiso), sed vitiatæ et corruptæ. Quæ lex corruptioris naturæ jus est gentium; quo usi sunt gentes ubique locorum. Quo jure *meum et tuum* introductum est, proprietas sane et privatio, bonæ et

simplicis naturæ maxime contraria, quæ velit omnium rerum communitatem. Ab eadem infecta et infracta natura rationeque infuscata deinceps jus civile manavit; quod dicitur quando aliquid juri communi vel additur vel detrahitur, et quod Populus aliquis constituit sibi quasi proprium ejus civitatis. Hæc jura sua cujusque civitatis civilia, ante Christum et sine Christo, erant a communi corruptela particulares corruptiones, et quasi rami perditæ radicis. Quas civiles leges, ut testator esset eorum insania, civitates partim membranis descriptas, partim nimoribus inacisas, habuerunt. Maris autem et feminæ conjunctio, liberorum procreatio, educatio eorundem, edere, dormire, vigilare, et si quid aliud dicatur quod nobis commune sit cum bestiis, id totum vel diverterunt alias, vel modum excesserunt, vel insitis a natura viribus abusi sunt, feceruntque perversitate voluntatis ut etiam ipsa natura parens peccati esse videatur. Itaque lex humanæ naturæ tota iniquitas erat; ratio et consilium perversum; mater peccati, et turpis et nocivæ actionis; cujus stipendium mors restabat sempiterna.

Sub hoc vocabulo, videlicet sub lege naturæ hominis, comprehendo etiam jus gentium, civile, communem consuetudinem, statuta, decreta hominum, et id genus; preterea quicquid sit corruptelæ a corrupta hominis natura ingenioque profectum. Nam inobedientia et peccatum primogenita naturæ ita labefactavit, ut ea deinceps nihil potuerint progigni¹ nisi infectum et maculatum; ita infregit vires ut a nimia infirmitate continuo deliquerit hominatio et delapsus est. Destitutus gracia, in hoc mundo, tanquam in via lubrica, labilis homo insistere ingredique non poterat quin labatur. In lubrico, ut in glacie congelata, figens vestigia actionum, corruit semper. Ex primo illo lapsu sequutum est in homine labi, falli, errare, decipi; quamobrem nihil certum, nihil sanctum, nihil salutare, nihil quod placeat Deo, nihil quod prosit hominibus, dilapsa et diruta natura humana potuit constituere. Vita eorum, leges, mores, actiones, inquinatæ et fedæ erant.

Ab hac miseritudine et infelici vita ac calamitosis legibus

¹ *Leg.* progignere.

et statu flebili hominum, exempti sunt excellentes illi et egregii viri, de quibus paulo supra diximus, attractu divinæ graciæ; ut super fluctibus mundi in spiritu Dei vivant legibus melioribus, et jure divino reformati *in novitatem spiritus* (ut inquit Paulus) *probent quæ sit voluntas Dei bona, beneplacens, et perfecta*; sperent in juris antistite Jesu Christo. Rom. xii. 2.

In hanc divinam legem, a corrupto gentium jure, evocavit et eduxit Dominus Abraam et progeniem illius; illam quæ erat futura fidelis et sperans in Deo. Quæ lex est lex fidei Deo; quæ est firma opinione spes et fidutia in Deo per Iesum Christum. Homines modicæ fidei periclitantur; magna et firma spe sustinentur.

Hic annotandum est quia sacra scriptura, et maxime novum testamentum, confuse usurpat hoc verbum *fides*. Quæ fides uno significato est dictorum et conventorum substantia et veritas, dicta quod *fiat* quod dictum est, et in re prestatum quod sancte promiseris. Ita ipse Deus *fidelis* dicitur ab hac fide. Apud Paulum est alibi: *fidelis est Deus*. Alio significato est *credulitas*, et adhibitio fidei. Nam *credere* est dictis vel factis fidem habere; a quo *creduli*, facile credentes, et *credulitas*, credendi facilitas, et *credibile*, verisimile credendum. Fidem autem habere, est *fidere*. *Fido* significat credo, spem pono. Hujus contrarium est *diffido*. A *fido*, fidentia, et fidutia, considerata audacia; tametsi nonnunquam temerariam audacitatem significat. In sacris litteris aliquando fides significat credulitatem claram veritati Dei; aliquando, et multo frequentissime, fidutiam et spem in potentia Dei; cujus contrarium est desperatio et spei depositio: quod vitium semper exhorruit Christus; fidem et firmam spem fidutiamque tam amplexatus est, ut omnia voluit illi tribui. Eo sensu loquutus est Christus, quando dixit: *Si habueritis fidem, sicut granum sinapis*;—id est, magnam et simplicem. Item: *fides tua te salvum fecit*. Item: *non inveni tantam fidem in Israel*. Item, quando dixit, increpans discipulos: *O modicæ fidei*. 1 Cor. i. 9.

Hac credentes justificantur, ut bene agant in charitate. Hæc lex fidei, lex Dei; qui voluit homines in se solo confidere, pendereque ab illo uno confidenter, ut salvos faciat sperantes in se. Hanc fidutiam justiciæ et salutis habemus

Mat. xvii.
19.
Mar. x. 52.
Matt. viii.
10.
ib. vi. 30.

per Iesum Christum, idoneum mediatorem. Hominem sibi confidere suisque viribus adherere, ruina est; Deo credere resurrectio est. Credentes si imitentur Christum Iesum, Deus hanc justiciam coronabit.

Hanc fidutiam in Deo per Iesum habuerunt patriarchæ illi, ante omnes Abraam. Sed ejus filii a fide parentum degeneraverunt. Effusiori gracia voluit Deus eos revocare per Moysen, per quem leges imposuit, coercitrices confrenatricesque excurrentis appetitus carnalis. Minatus est mortem transgressoribus. Quod reliquum erat perfectionis, vel erga Deum vel erga homines, adumbravit candidis et immaculatis ritibus et ceremoniis. Perfector et completor, illustrator et consummator, venit postremo Iesus ipse; per quem est hominis redemptio et consummata justificatio.

Homines autem ita infirmi et caduci erant, ac in lubrico suæ corruptæ naturæ ita labiles, ut per legem magis didicerunt se peccare, et proclivitatem in ruinam agnoverunt; magis quam lege a peccatis abstinnerunt. Lex bona et sancta erat; sed illi impotentes; quanquam lex indulsit et permisit in quamplurimis: sed tanta infirmitas erat ut nemo poterat non peccare.

Tunc sustenti in spiritu luculento Dei, qui prospexerint¹ mediatorem venturum, per quem illi acceperunt gratiam Dei, per quem quamplurimi alii essent accepturi,—nam Gen. xv. 5. Abraæ dixit Deus, *suspice celum, et numera stellas, si potes; ita erit semen tuum* fidele—valde desiderarunt Iesum; per quem a Deo gracia esset invecta hominibus, quæ traheret homines in simplicem spem fidutiamque in Deo, sustineretque eos in lege fidei. Hic est Iesus, antiquæ legis Moysaicæ sapientissimus interpres, juris divini antistes; qui docuit legem fidei, quæ lex evangelii, graciæ, misericordiæ est; lex amoris et auxilii, lex illustrans et perficiens. Hæc lex divina est lex graciæ, lex fidei, lex Christiana.

In hac fide divinæ legis et voluntatis, prudentes Christianæ plebis pontifices multa decreta et statuta ediderunt; partim continentia homines in gracia, partim revocantia: quod jus pontificium et canonicum vocatur, quia pontifices

¹ Prosperint, MS.

ex fide regulam vivendi ad vitam eternam posuerunt: a quo etiam jus positivum dicitur.

Ex his ergo concludamus summatim duplex duntaxat esse; jus divinum quod [perfectum] est, et humanum quod corruptum est. Porro divinum partiamur in inchoatum et perfectum. Inchoatum erat moysaicum; perfectum, Christianum, quod est evangelicum: et in eo canonicum, quod delabentes homines a gracia nititur et revocare et retinere. Hæc optat optima, prohibet pessima: jubet minora bona, indulget minora mala. Hæc lex divina, dirivata a Deo per Christum et ecclesiasticos antistites in plebem Christianam, est lex nostra divina, spiritalis, evangelica, graciola; eorum omnium qui regnuntur Deo novi homines, renovati ad novam voluntatem Dei; in quibus *transierunt vetera*, et 2 Cor. v. 17. *nova sunt*.

Ut est *unus Deus Pater, et unus magister Christus, una fides, unum baptisma*, una ecclesia, ita una debet esse lex [et] jus vivendi, videlicet divina canonica, in qua est regula Christianæ vitæ; in qua jubentur facienda in omnibus; non facienda prohibentur.

Civilia vero jura veteris hominis corrupti ad sanitatem Christianorum non pertinent. Humana ratio inimica et adversaria est graciæ: legem suam constituentes legi Dei non sunt subjecti. Jus etiam regni hujus municipale, quod jus est altercantium hominum ridiculæ sententiæ, in ecclesia Dei per legem fidei et charitatis exploditur et exsibillatur. Si enim invalescat, locus est spiritali parti ecclesiæ dicendi: *Invenio aliam legem in membris meis*—corporalibus, id est; *repugnantem legi mentis meæ, et captivantem me*. Jus regni conatur ecclesiam in captivitatem trahere. In Christianis hominibus, qui omnes sunt filii Dei, alia lex non est audienda quam per Christum nostrum divina lex; quod jus evangelicum est, quæ charitas est; omnis legis plenitudo et perfectio. In qua lege charitatis deinceps summi pontifices optantes optima, indulserunt infirmioribus, jusserunt bonos terminos, transgressores et mortuos excommunicaverunt.

Neminem arbitramur in ecclesia sic sine gracia et viribus, ut nihil valeat agere, nulloque se in virtutis gradu continere.

Mat. xxiii.

10.

Eph. iv. 5.

Rom. vii.

23.

Cogita circulum, cujus centrum Christus est, ipsa bonitas; circumferentia minus bonum; ultra quod ipsum malum est. Optat Christus omnia esse ut ipse: infirmioribus relaxat aliquosque: in termino indulgente jubet sistere. Ultra hanc circumferentiam vetat et prohibet. Hinc ecclesia excommunicat transgressores; probat observantes circumferentiam preceptorum; laudat contendentes ad centrum Christum; perfectos in ipso centro admiratur. Delabi a precepto nequit ecclesia permittere, quoniam hoc peccatum est. Potest ecclesia indulgere citra peccatum, non ultra. Nam circumferentia Christianæ graciæ et justiciæ nec elargienda est nec derumpenda.

Quamobrem ex hoc capiamus hanc regulam generalem: non esse preceptum id, sed consilium solum, a quo deorsum permittitur aliquis decedere citra id quod precipitur; omnisque indulgentia non ultra preceptum est sed citra; et ad preceptum indultum est, non ultra. Citra autem preceptum consilium est, nisi in eo loco quis solemnī voto se alligaverit. Hinc enim consilium preceptum est. Laicis extrema circumferentia est orbis Christiani; in qua circumferentia sunt precepta. Quicquid infra circumferentiam est, versus centrum Christum, laicis consilium est; nisi se voto alicui gradui allegaverint. Infra circumferentiam laicalem est artior circulus sacerdotum, in quo figuntur ut servantur precepta sacerdotalia; in quo gradu stare voverit sacerdos cum voto solemnī: cum quo papa non dispensat, nec a voto labi sinit ullo modo; quando peccatum permittere non potest: precipiuntur vota servari omnino. Papa dispensat cum consiliis; non cum votis, nec laicalibus nec sacerdotalibus.

Preceptum ultima circumferentia. Intra centrum et circumferentiam est consilium ad melius, et indulgentia ad deterius. Verum admittentes consilia, et profitentes consilia servare, spontanea sua admissione legis obligantur; quod ipsum si non servaverint, nihilo minus tamen intra Christianitatis circumferentiam continentur.

Omnes leges ad has tres redigi possunt: ad legem corruptæ naturæ; ad legem Dei revocantem ad Christum; ad legem Dei in Christo perficientem. Hæc lex purgavit

sanavitque naturam; eadem perficit Moysaïcam legem. Quamobrem nunc in Christo Christianis nulla est lex, nisi hæc perficiens spiritalis graciæ; quæ et omnem corruptionem et omnem imperfectionem excludit et longe propellit. Hæc de legibus.

Sed regrediamur unde digressi sumus. *Non per legem* Rom. iv. 13.
promissio Abræ aut semini ejus, ut heres sit mundi. Nam
 lex [quadrigen] tis post annis sequuta est. Pollicitationes Gal. iii. 17.
 Dei patriarchæ Abræ fuerant et ante legem et ante circumcisionem, propter justiciam fidei et spei Abræ in Deo; qua tantopere delectatus est Deus, ut illi multa et magna promittat. Pollicitus est autem Deus Abræ, quem sibi segregavit, illum magnum fore, illum benedictum fore, et omnes in ipso. Pollicitus est illi, et semini ejus, terram Chanaan, et latum imperium sempiternum, prolis multitudinem ut pulverem. Pollicitus est se protectorem habere; pollicitus est illi seipsum. *Et ego, inquit, merces tua magna* Gen. xv. 1.
nimis. Pollicitus est heredem et prolis numerum ad numerum stellarum, dominium, et terræ possessionem. Cui pollicenti quia credidit Abraam, promisit¹ illum *patrem fore* Gen. xvii. 5.
multarum gentium; unde Abraam illum nominavit; et *se futurum Deum ejus et semini.* Pactum in carne pepigit circumcisionis sexus masculini; pactum et fedus quod voluit ratum esse inter se et Isaac Sarai filium; ut in octavo die infans quilibet masculus circumcidatur.

Quando apparuerat Deus unus et idem trinus in convalle Mambre, cui Abraam tria sata similæ in panem, et butyrem Gen. xviii. 1.
 lac, et vitulum, in cibum triplicem trino Deo apposuit, iterum audivit Sarai filium fore propediem; quod postea factum erat. Nam vetula peperit Isaac, quem pater circumcidit octavo die. In quo filio volens Deus facere periculum fidei et spei Abræ, jussit in monte immolaretur. Ad quod quando viderat Abraam paratissimum, contentus Deus tanta fiducia, juravit per seipsum Deus, benedictum et multiplicatum Abraam fore, ad numerum stellarum, et arenæ maris; habiturumque innumerabilem prolem, et celestem et terrenam, et spiritalem et carnalem: in semine illius

¹ Promisitque, MS.

aliquando propter obedientiam omnes gentes benedictas fore. Hoc semen erat Christus futurus.

Rom. iv.
13, 14.

Hæc autem tanta et tam larga *promissio non erat Abræ et semini ejus Isaac, ut heres esset mundi*, et universi gentes benedicantur in eo, *per legem moysaicam*: quia *si ex lege heredes sunt*, propter observantiam legis et custodiam mandatorum in lege, *abolita est promissio* fidelis Dei.—*Abolere* significat “delere, et prorsus obliterare; ut ne odor quidem ejus relinquatur.”—Ad quid erant tot et tantæ promissiones, antecedentes legem, si per legem sit promissio hereditatis? Quinimmo, si recte consideras, per legem non poterit esse promissio; quia *lex iram operatur*,—castigat et punit acerbiter. Lex autem fidei antiquior nutrit et fovet dulciter, trahit et justificat suaviter. Lex carnales homines imperavit durissime, imposuit frena, retorsit effrenes, effrenatos (ut erant omnes Judei, gens duræ cervicis) deverbavit, punivit, necavit; delinquentes sine misericordia sustulit. Lex ergo nihil erat aliud illis, infirmis et impotentibus obedire, nisi irata punitio et severa castigatio; voluit cohibere et coercere eos qui propter nimiam infirmitatem naturæ nequiverant non labi, nec potuerunt non transgredi. Erat lex castigatio puerorum, coertio bestiarum, ac pecuini appetitus refrenatio. Hæc non prestitit promissa Dei, sed potius abolevit. Nam revocare homines ad promissa Dei, quæ sunt fidelibus, ineptos et inidoneos prostravit et delevit.

ver. 15.

Venit lex terrifica quasi flagellum Dei. Idem potest dici his diebus de lege nostra pontifica, quam exercent et ministrant judicalem. Nam statim delinquentes corripiunt ad jus legulei nostri temporis; facientes illos prius experiri vim juris quam gratiam. Mihi videbuntur facere equius, si prius docuerint canones regulasque vivendi, pro professione nominis eorum, qui Doctores vocantur, quam exorbitantes deverbarent; priusque exhibeant se misericordes doctores verbo et exemplo, quam tam graviter depuniant. In viis Dei semper erat prior misericordia quam judicium; et pia doctrina quam verbera. Est necesse, qui servant legem, legem cognoscant: alioquin lex non est magistra virtutis, sed subdolum rethe iniquitatis. *Ubi enim non est*

lex :—quia ubi non est *lex*, prescribens et diffiniens, coercens et cohibens, ac terminos ponens quos transgredi non liceat, ibi non est privaricatio—transgressio.

Privaricator a varicando, hoc est, transgrediendo, dictus est, quasi varicator. Est is quidem “ quicumque ab officii sui prescripto deflectit atque aberrat ; sive perfidia ac malitia, sive imprudentia ac negligentia id faciat ” : a quo privaricatio ipsa officii ac legis transgressio.

Non erat transgressio antequam positi fuerunt termini. Late patuit defluxus excursusque, quando nullus erat obex legis : quisque arbitratus est sibi licere quod libuit. Lege autem coertrice data, varicatio cepit ad mortem ; et in privaricatores ira ac iudicium, atque promissorum abolitio.

Concludamus ergo Dei promissa Abraë fuisse *per justitiam fidei* et credulitatis. Justus est, qui spem suam omnem positam habet in Deo. *Ideo ex fide* heredes sunt ver. 16. filii Abraë, quia tam confisi sunt Deo ; *ut secundum gratiam* justificantem—non secundum iram vindicantem in lege, sed secundum gratiam Dei—*firma sit promissio omni semini*, et fiat, quod Deus dixerat Abraë, non hominibus sub lege timidis, sed subjectis gratiæ in leticia ; qui non timore penæ abstinere a malo, sed amore gloriæ benefaciunt.

Minitabunda *lex* incussit timorem suis assiduis minis atque minatiis ; sub qua homines erant facti ex miseris miseres. Blanda autem et beatifica gratia quando illuxit per Jesum Christum, sperantes in Deo justificantur, participesque sunt antiquorum promissorum ; quæ erant *non ei qui ex lege est solum*—quibus datur *lex*—*sed etiam ei qui ex fide est Abraë*—qui cum Abraam pariter confidunt Deo,—*qui pater est omnium nostrum*, et Judeorum et gentium ; pater imitandus, imitandus fide ab universis ; pater parens et propagator fidei ; pater, propter exemplum fidei propositum, omnium credentium quorumcumque et confidentium in Deo.

Sicut scriptum est—in scriptura scripturarum.—Nunc ver. 17. memorant scripturas capitulatim, et quasi digito demonstrantes ; alioquin diffidentes hominum de se opinioni : et illis quoque memorant multo ineptissime, qui ne nomen [quidem]

scripturarum audierint. Qui vero conscius est doctrinæ suæ, confidenter cum Paulo dicit solum *Scriptum est*, vel *Scriptura habet*.

Gen. xvii. 4. *Quia patrem multarum gentium posui te: hoc scriptum est in libro Geneseos. Hinc Abram cognominatus fuit Abraam, vocabulo longiori. Ante Deum:—hæc sunt verba Pauli priorum expositiva. Ante Deum, inquit, non ante homines; cui credidisti, et propter tuam credulitatem et confidentiam in Deo, qui vivificat mortuos, et facit credulos ex incredulis:—potens est enim Deus de lapidibus facere filios Abræ:—et vocat ea quæ non sunt, tanquam ea quæ sunt; quia omnes se pariter habent apud Deum. Qui non sunt significat gentiles; qui sunt significat Judeos. Potest Deus Ps cxii. 7, 8. viles honorabiles facere; qui, ut cecinit David, suscitatur a terra inopem, et de stercore erigit pauperem, et collocat eum cum principibus populi sui.*

Rom. iv. 18. *Qui contra spem incredibilia, ut homo vetulus, senex etiam, in femina gignat filium, tamen in spem credidit verbo et promisso divino; expectans futurum quod promittebatur, ut fieret pater multarum gentium; tum carne, quoniam copiosa Judeorum proles profluxit ex semine Abræ; tum spiritu, quoniam exemplar extitit fidei imitandæ; ut postea fideles omnes ex relatione fidei Abræ filii dicantur: secundum [quod dictum] est ei a Deo, sic erit semen tuum, sicut stellæ celi et arena maris.*

Duplex erit tibi semen, spiritale et carnale. Hoc erit, ut arena maris, mersum in peccatis; illud vero, ut stellæ celi, luculentum in gracia fidei.

ver. 19. *Et non infirmatus est in fide; non desperavit; non cecidit a spe; nec consideravit corpus suum emortuum, aridum, sterile senectute, quum jam fere centum esset annorum. Habuit nonaginta novem annos, quando ei promissum fuerat. Et non consideravit emortuam valvam Saræ, sterilem, infecundam. Non ratiocinatus est secum diffidens, sed simplici fide conquivit in Deo.*

Ratio et inquisitio subolet nonnullam desperationem: simplex fides fixa et quieta est; et extat tranquilla supra turbidam rationem.

ver. 20. *In repromissione etiam Dei non hesitavit diffidentia, des-*

peratione, nec vacillans dubitavit, *sed confortatus¹ est infide*, fiducia ac spe, in Deo confidenter credens. Hic animadvertente desperationem infirmitatem esse animi; spem, fortitudinem. *Dans gloriam Deo, de promissis. Plenissime* ver. 21. *sciens, et indubitanter credens, quia quaecunque promisit Deus, potens est facere. Ideo tanta et tam solida spes fidu-* ver. 22. *ciaque in Deo reputatum est ei ad justiciam; et in hoc solo habebatur justus, in erecta stabilique fiducia; quæ res omnium quam gratissima est Deo. Hac est ea fides, quam exposcebat tantopere Jesus in evangeliiis.*

Non est autem scriptum tanta laus confidentiæ in Deo ver. 23. *tantum propter ipsum Abraam, quia reputatum est illi ad justiciam illa ejus credulitas eximia; sed et propter nos etiam,* ver. 24. *ut illo exemplo nos imitati ad fidem reputemur justi; quibus reputabitur fides ad justiciam, credentibus in eum qui suscitavit Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum a mortuis—confidentibus in Deum Patrem, suscitatore mortuorum. Qui tra-* ver. 25. *ditus est Christus propter delicta nostra, ut moriens prepotenti morte mortificet mortem nostram; et resurrexit propter justificationem nostram, ut nos simul cum eo in unitatem vitæ resurgamus. Hinc in baptismo mersi emergimus. Et in statutis ecclesiæ est ut mersus emergat: alioquin non est baptizatus.*

CAP. V.

EX superioribus concludit, Judeos et Grecos, id est, gentiles, inter quos erat disceptatio, jam *justificatos* ver. 1. *ex fide* in pace convenire oportere, et ex justitia fidei confidentiæque in Deo sperare *gloriam filiorum Dei*, patientes multa ut probentur. Spem vero justificatorum falsam et deceptam non fore. Siquidem Deus, qui erat graciosus peccatoribus indignis, et inimicis suis, multo magis erit graciosus jam justificatis et amicis; atque quos justificavit peccatores, eosdem necessario glorificabit justos. Quapropter gloriandum est in spe boni, et patientia mali; et hoc per Jesum Christum; in quo patientes hic vin-

¹ Confortans, MS.

cimus mala, et sperantes bona tandem in celo assequemur. Quia ut peccatum et mors per Adam, ita ex Iesu gratia et vita.

Similitudo est in multis; quoniam, ut peccatum ex uno Adam in mortem, ita [gratia] ex uno Christo in vitam. Verum hoc interest et inter donum et delictum. Hæc differentia est, videlicet, quantum crevit peccatum ad mortem, ita magis crevit gratia ad vitam; ut amplior et potentior gratia superet mortem. Gratia enim per Iesum magis et multiplior erat peccato. Modo ergo justificati gratia sperent magis vitam ex gratia, quam ex peccatis mortem timuerunt. Deus, qui dilexit peccatores, multo magis diligit justos; atque gratia tam large effusa multo magis vivificat, quam peccatum mortificavit:—gratia, inquam, non morientis Christi (quæ tamen illa potenter redemit), sed jam viventis. Quanquam vero ut fundebatur mors, mortemque omnes bibebant propinatum ex uno Adam, ita supereffundebatur vita largior per Iesum; ut omnes plenis faucibus exhauriant vitam. Atque quanquam similitudo magna sit inter hos duos fluvios ex opposito currentes, tamen redundantior, ad modum torrentis, profluens est candidus fluvius graciæ, ut atrum mortis fluvium superet: cujus graciosi fluvii *impetus letificat civitatem Dei*.

Ps. xlv. 5.

In hoc capite significat Paulus effusam esse quam largissimam charitatem Dei per Iesum Christum in homines; qui moriens mortem nostram interemit; vivens deinde vivificavit et gratificavit Deo; implevit vasa cordium liquore divinæ graciæ; duras mentes oleo misericordiæ liquefecit. Hæc abundans gratia abundanter effusa a Paulo modo *donum*, modo *donatio*, modo *obedientia*, modo *justicia*, modo *justificatio* vocatur. Hæc gratia vita est hominum, et regnum, qua regnamus in Deo per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum; qui nunc regnat in celo. Mortalis et moriens profuit homini; multo magis jam vivus et immortalis. In illo moriente in baptismo morimur morte nostra, ut deinde vivamus in illo vivente, vita illius; qui vixit ex morte, ut nos ex peccato justi vivamus.

Per primum inobedientem Adam et peccatorem, peccatum, servitus, et mors, serpsit et occupavit humanum genus, *usque*

ad Moysen, non deprehensa quidem. Hactenus viguit lex corruptæ naturæ. Data autem lege Moysi, peccatum adhuc abundavit magis propter majus¹ peccatum. Postremo venit multo major gracia, ut auctum peccatum absorbeat.

Hæc tria hoc se habent ordine: Adam, Moyses, Jesus; qui erant allatores trium, peccati, castigationis, graciæ; et trium legum parentes et conditores, legis peccati, legis carnalium operum, legis spiritualis justiciæ. Lex Moysaica media erat inter peccatum et gratiam. Jussit aliquid boni; aliquid permisit mali propter infirmitatem; reliquum justiciæ, quod nequiverat assequi, in hominibus adumbravit.

Infirmitas, inobedientia, delictum, peccati adolescentia, regnum, judicium, condemnatio, mors:—hæc a parvo initio ab uno Adam et uno illius peccato prodierunt. Ut crevit peccatum et se dilatavit, fuit necesse misericordiæ fons aperiret os suum, et se dilataret, ut effusius aspergat gratiam. Quapropter ex angusto provenit mors; gracia autem ex amplo. Dilatavit enim charitatem suam Deus, ut dilatatum peccatum tollat graciæ adventus per unum Jesum. Erat multa et multiplex propagatio peccati ab uno peccato. Occupato universo mundo a peccatis, amplissima erat gracia et potentissima, quæ capiat et convincat peccatum. Quare ex uno peccato erat mors, ex multa gracia vita. Facilius enim egrotamur quam sanamur. Oportet medicina sit morbo major. Ita patet differentia inter Adam et Christum; quia per unum hominem Adam, ex uno peccato, mors in omnes; contra per unum hominem Christum, ex multa gracia, vita. Item peccatum venit, quando unus erat peccator; sed gracia venit, quando plures erant peccatores. In plenitudine enim peccati venit multo plenior gracia. Hæc lex perfecta est graciæ lex; quæ tollit legem peccati ad mortem; perficit legem Moysaicam, quæ volens sanare interemit.

Justificati ex fide, et confidentia in Deo per Christum, *cum fidei Abraam*: quia fides justificat, et justis confert omnia Deus per Jesum; peccatoribus et diffidentibus nihil conceditur. Ab hac spe et fidutia in Deo Christiani vocantur fideles. Alii confidunt viribus propriis, id est, infirmitati;

Rom. v. 1.
Gal. iii. 9.

¹ Magis, MS.

- Christiani autem tantum Deo. Sed proch scelus! desperantes divinam opem, relapsi confidimus nobis, in infirmitate nostra cadentes: unde irascitur nobis Deus. *Pacem habeamus ad Deum*, cum quo infideles bellum gessimus. *Per*
- Luc. ii. 14. *Jesum est in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.* Amat Deus sperantes in se humiliter. Spe stamus, desperatione
- Mat. ix. 2. cadimus. Oblato Jesu paralitico, scriptum est: *videns Jesus fidem illorum*, etc. [dixit] *confide, fili*; id est, pone spem in Deo, a quo omnia sunt omnibus, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui attulit hoc nuncium; mediatorem Dei et hominum. Ille manus dextra est Dei: in ipso et per ipsum Deus facit omnia.
- Rom. v. 2. *Per quem* Iesum, Deum hominem, *habemus accessum*—accedimus—sequendo Iesum in vita: qui vocatis dixit, *sequere me, per fidem* et fidutiam simplicem, *in gratiam istam*, quam largissime infusam sequacibus Christi. *In qua gracia stamus sperantes, et gloriamur in spe gloriæ*, expectatione lucis eternæ *filiorum Dei* regnitorum. Ille pientissimus pater est; nos obedientes filii sumus; quorum justicia fides est in Deo, et sequela Christi; in qua justii per Christum gloriantur in Deo. Et non solum gloriemur in amore boni post hanc vitam, sed in patientia mali dum hic vivitur; quæ spem probatam reddit: et hoc quoque per Jesum Christum, per quem reconciliati Deo: quia per multas tribulationes itur ad vitam. Nam fugientes Egyptum hujus mundi Pharaocum suo exercitu insequitur a tergo hostiliter; id est, princeps hujus mundi; sed ipse obruetur aquis peccatorum suorum: filii Israel elapsi, et in altera parte fluminis baptismalis, concinnent: *Cantemus Domino gloriose.* Quare sequitur, non solum gloriamur spe gloriæ, *sed etiam gloriamur in tribulationibus, vexationibus*, sperantes in Deo per Iesum.
- ver. 3.
- Ex. xv. 1. *Beati enim qui persecutionem paciuntur propter justiciam*, et spem suam ponunt in Deo.
- Rom. v. 3.
- Matt. v. 10.

Christianæ fortitudinis duo sunt; spes boni, et patientia mali. Iter enim faciens, et bene agens ad vitam, insequentes tribulationes a tergo revocantes oportet paciatur et toleret. Contraria contrariis comparantur: gloria cum ignominia; gaudium cum dolore; vita cum morte.

Scientes quia tribulatio, vexatio, agitatio, molestatio, huc

atque illuc distractio, qua terrena miseria itur ad felicitatem, *pacientiam operatur*—tolerantiam malorum. Assuetus in malis fit tandem paciens: patientia fortitudo et victoria est Christiana. *Pacientia autem probationem*. Qui secum con- Rom. v. 4.
stat paciens probatur, tanquam aurum igne. Ut *aurum in* Sapient. iii.
fornace est, ita justus in hoc mundo per temptante. *Probatio* 6.
spem operatur. Bene et tute potest sperare probatus temptationis igne. Is aurum est idoneum ad templum celeste Dei.

Multa turbacio, in hoc infelici mundo, bonis semper bona est: expurgat enim vicia, virtutem probat, fortem exercet ad majorem laudem et gloriam, amaricat falsam mundi dulcedinem, desiderium excitat celestium, assimulat Christo Jesu, in hoc mundo omni temptatione jactato. Item malis res bona est: vel enim revocat a malo, vel retinet a majori malo, vel juste punit, quo minus in inferno puniatur. Quare divus Jacobus scripsit: *Omne gaudium existimate, fratres, Iac. i. 2-4.*
quum in temptationes varias incideritis; quia probatio fidei patientiam operatur: patientia opus perfectum habet; ut sitis perfecti et integri, in nullo deficientes.

Spes non confundit, nec fallit; spes et confidentia in Deo. Rom. v. 5.
Quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris. Deus nos amavit; misertus est nostri; largiter in nos effudit gratiam; liquore suæ graciæ implevit vasa cordium nostrorum. *Per spiritum sanctum*, et suam sacrosanctam inspirationem, *qui datus est nobis*, sumus participes divini spiritus, ac suavissimi anhelitus Dei. Nos amans, afflavit nos bene olenti spiritu suo.

Spiritus proprie aura et ventus est: quod est sacramentum divinæ inspirationis. Nam in mentes discipulorum Christi descendit vento vehemente. Hic ineffabilis halitus Dei et Christi, et vitalis spiritus, est animabus, ut spiritalis aura corporibus: spirant enim et respirant in liquido spiritu Dei.

Ut quid Christus, quum adhuc infirmi essemus, secundum ver. 6.
tempus pro impiis mortuus est? quasi diceret: unde, qua ex causa, alia atque ex nimio amore? Mortuus est autem Christus pro hominibus, quum adhuc infirmi essent, caduci, peccatores, *secundum tempus*. Sunt tempora distincta in-

ver. 8. firmitate et sanitate. In statu morbi venit Christus; in plenitudine peccati. Quapropter pro impiissimis mortuus est. *Vix enim pro justo quis moritur*, nedum pro impio. Et si *forsan pro bono et justo quis audeat mori*, ut possit accidere nonnunquam; tamen pro injustissimo quis moriatur? Nempe, præter Christum, dici non potest quenquam pro impiis mortuum fuisse. *Commendat*—commendabilem, et laudabilem, atque admirabilem, *charitatem suam fecit*—*Deus Pater in nobis*, filiis, columbis suis simplicibus; *quoniam quum adhuc peccatores essemus, secundum tempus*, et non desiimus a peccatis, sed peccata peccatis addidimus, ver. 9. *Christus pro nobis mortuus est* redemptor, ut nos vivamus sancta et potente morte. Sistebat cursum in nobis ad mortem.

Pa. cxv. 15. Mors justi expiatio est peccatorum. Moritur peccator pro se; moritur justus pro aliis. Mors peccatoris infirma et feda est: hinc mors peccatorum pessima. Mors justi sancta et prepotens est: hinc *preciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*. In Christo ceperunt sanctæ mortes, et grata sacrificia Deo pro aliis. Morte redimitur quisque. Debet alius pro alio emori morte sancta; pro se autem nemo: nam peccatoris mors peccati pena est, non redemptio. Christi omnium sanctissima mors, quæ sancta sanctificans est, amplissime redemit; et aliæ sanctorum mortes in ejus morte.

Rom. v. 10. *Multo igitur magis nunc justificati in sanguine ipsius, salvi erimus ab ira per ipsum*; quia quos justificavit peccatores morte, eosdem vivens salvabit justos. *Si enim quum inimici essemus, reconciliati sumus Deo*, sancto sacrificio, *per mortem filii ejus, multo magis reconciliati modo salvi erimus in vita ipsius*; qui nunc vivit ad dexteram Dei Patris, in gloria eterna. Mortuus erat peccatoribus; vivit autem justis. Vita potentior est morte. Si in moriente tantum fructum accepimus peccatores, quanto magis capiemus in vivente justis?

{ VITA justis :—vivit justis.
{ MORS peccatoribus :—moriebatur pro peccatoribus.

ver. 11. *Non solum autem gloriemur in Deo in spe, in tribulatione,*

justi; *sed etiam gloriemur in Deo per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum*; qui est mediator Dei et hominum; per quem omnia sunt a Deo nobis, et a nobis ad Deum redeunt. *Per quem Jesum Christum medium reconciliationem accepimus*; nunc reconciliati morte ejus. Sicut per Adam, qui voluit vivere ut Deus, erat homo a Deo alienatus; ita per Deum Jesum, qui voluit mori ut homo, erat homo Deo reconciliatus. *Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum*, ita ver. 12. (supple, per unum hominem) gracia. *Et sicut per unum hominem, Adam, primum peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors*, ita (supple, per unum hominem, Christum) gracia intravit in mundum, et per gratiam vita eterna. *Et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes peccaverunt*—manavit, serpsit.

Ut tota arbor in radice est, et totus homo in semine; ita universum genus humanum erat in Adam; in quo tota natura peccavit ad mortem.

Usque ad legem enim peccatum erat in mundo; fructus ver. 13. infirmæ et corruptæ naturæ in hac pestifera valle: sed a cecis non videbatur. In tenebris non viderunt transgressionem. *Peccatum non imputabatur*, nec agnoscebatur, *quando lex non esset prohibens*. Quicquid libuerit, homo ante legem putabat sibi licere; tanta erat cecitas. *Sed* ver. 14. *regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen in tota fere natura, exceptis illis paucis, qui exempti sacrificabant et ambula-* bant cum Deo; *etiam in eos, qui non peccaverunt*:—illi quoque justii habiti: Adam, Enos, Enoch, Noe, Sem, Melchisedech, Abraam, Isaac, Iacob, Ioseph: etsi qui fuerant preterea omnes fuerant obnoxii peccato originali, *in similitudinem privaricationis Adæ*,—similes Adæ in hoc, qui ab illo corrupto stipite traxerunt originem; *qui erat forma futuri*, hominis universi ab ipso; *forma corrupta* futurorum peccatorum: hoc est, qualis fuerat Adam, tales erant omnes futuri ex eo.

Quidam autem intelligunt illum fuisse formam futuram Christi; parens peccati, sicuti Christus graciæ. Verum mihi magis placet alter sensus; ut intelligamus Adam corruptam fuisse formam toti suæ progeniei; et Paulum velle dixisse futuram propaginem primi parentis in natura

infecta similem fore; atque qualis fuerit Adam, talem ab illo totum reliquum hominem futurum; quia in illo omnes peccaverunt.

ver. 15. *Sed non sicut delictum ita et donum.* Delictum erat Adæ ad mortem; donum et gracia Iesu ad vitam. Hæc duo differunt et conveniunt. Conveniunt quidem hoc: ut habet se delictum ad mortem, ita gracia ad vitam; videlicet, ut peccatum est causa mortis, ita gracia causa vitæ. Differunt autem hoc: quod gracia verior et potentior est res ad justificationem, quam peccatum ad mortificationem. Quod si peccatum mortificavit, multo magis necessario vivificet gracia. Deus potentior diabolo est; et ejus gracia amplior peccato. Quapropter, quamquam conveniant, tamen simul differunt.¹ Quia *si unus Adæ delicto multi mortui sunt*,—crevit delictum unius in mortem multitudinis, et corruptio radices manavit in ramos quum discesserit ab uno. Per multum intelligit omnes. Confuse modo *multos*, modo *plures*, modo *omnes* ponit. Intelligit universos preter unum quod est initium multitudinis. Preter unum quicquid sit multum est. *Multo magis gracia Dei Patris et donum in gracia unius Iesu Christi in plures*—multos—abundavit.

Velit dicere, si peccatum hominis mortificet per unum Adam, multo magis gracia Dei vivificet per unum Iesum. Et hæc affert Paulus, ut persuadeat magis sperandum esse vitam in gracia, quam timendam esse mortem ex peccato; quia, quamquam peccatum est res valida ad mortem, multo tamen magis gracia valet ad vitam. Plus potest habitus quam privatio: plus gracia ex Deo ad vitam, quam peccatum ex homine ad mortem. Si abundans peccatum fuit, multo magis abundavit gracia; ut magnum peccatum a multo majori gracia superetur.

Hic ego misericulus, conscientia meorum delictorum pressus, quæ sunt et multa et magna, capio in hac gracia extollentia magnam spem. Scio et confiteor me valde peccasse: in quorum scelerum meorum recordatione labesco. Sed me levat in spem, quod a tanto

¹ Differant, MS.

apostolo scribitur, etiam ad spem erigendam; videlicet gratiam peccatum superare, et timorem humili spei cedere oportere.

Et non sicut per unum peccatum, ita et donum.—*Aliam* ver. 16. differentiam ponit inter peccatum, et gratiam, quod *donum* vocat, in modo ut mihi videtur procedendi. Venit et peccatum et gracia in hominum multitudinem: sed peccatum in exortu hominis; gracia in multiplicatos. Adversum se invicem contrario cursu fluvius graciæ et peccati confluunt. Nam peccatum ab uno ad multos; gracia a multis ad unum. Peccatum in radice hominis; gracia in multiplicatis ramis cepit: nam sua amplitudine comprehendit omnes. Quod crevit ex uno in amplissimum, amplior gracia comprehendit usque ad unum. Redemit enim universos; tametsi non omnes vocavit, nec vocatos omnes elegit. Nam *judicium ex uno in condemnationem*: condemnatio ab uno cepit. Iustificatio vero, quia plurimi fuerint peccatores, a multa gracia provenit. Ex angusto, peccatum processit ad interitum: ex amplo, gracia profluxit ad vitam. Ideo addit: *gracia autem ex multis delictis in justificationem*. Multis delinquentibus venit gracia; ut comprehendens multos justificet. *Si enim* ver. 17. *unius delicto*—id est, unitas¹ delicti, et ex uno delicto,—*per unum*, Adam, *mors regnavit*; si imperium mortis crevit ex uno delicto; *multo magis abundantiam graciæ*, multiplicatam graciæ, et *donationis et justiciæ*, quæ est cuique ex dono Dei, *accipientes regnabunt in vitam per unum Jesum Christum*; per quem est multa et magna gracia. *Igitur sicut per unius delictum*—Adæ, subaudi *dicimus*, ver. 18. *in omnes homines in condemnationem*; sic *per unius justiciam in omnes homines in justificationem vitæ*. Iustificatio omnium est per justiciam justificantem Jesu Christi. *Sicut per inobedientiam unius*, Adæ, *multi constituti sunt* ver. 19. *peccatores*—per *multum* intelligit omnes;—*ita per unius obedientiam justi constituentur multi*—omnes qui voluerint; quia gracia et in se, et in effectum, est et major et multiplicatior quam peccatum.

¹ Leg. unitate.

Ut circumferentia ad centrum, ita gracia ad peccatum. Est enim gracia amplior, potentior, efficacior; atque quamquam adolevit peccatum in magnum, tamen superexcrevit gracia, ut lux super tenebras. Quanquam terrenæ tenebræ magnæ et latæ esse possunt, tamen celestis lux latior et diffusior est: in cujus adventu abeunt tenebræ statim et evanescent.

ver. 20. *Lex autem subintravit, ut abundaret delictum.* Ab Adam usque ad Moysen adolevit delictum, et se auxit indies magis atque magis; cujus futuræ privaricationis forma erat Adam: ver. 14. *forma* (inquit Paulus) *futuri*. Per Moysen autem data lege coercente transgressionem, transgressionem abundavit delictum, et peccatum erat peccatius: quia tunc, positis terminis quos non licuit transgredi, deprehendebatur peccatum; et ver. 13. *peccatum* (ut loquitur Paulus) *imputabatur*. Nihilominus tamen homunculi, nequeuntes non peccare, eo gravius peccaverunt, quo scientius et prudentius. Ubi autem non erat lex, non erat prevaricatio. Data lege peccantes deprehendebantur, transgressores mandati et precepti Dei.

Hic agnoscimus, ut infirmi, non potentes deglutire medicinas, melius se habent si medicinas non acceperint; ita pariter peccatores, præ infirmitate et ignorantia nequeuntes bene facere, melius se habent sine legibus. Talibus enim *lex subintrat, ut abundet peccatum*: non ob eam quidem causam et finem, ut peccatum abundet; nam lex bona erat, et dabatur ut homines refrenaret a peccato; sed præter mentem et intentionem legis majus peccatum sequutum est.

Ut hic, ut sæpe alias in sanctis scripturis, particula est, non tam indicans causam, quam consequutionem.

Egrotior erat homo sub lege; et peccatum, ut fera bestia in freno, furiebat magis. Nam malus appetitus coercitus eo magis conatur erumpere, quo magis coercetur. Reluctatur freno legis natura improba; recusatque modum corrupta immodestia.

Ubi autem abundavit delictum, et re et evidentia manifestaque apparitione—ubique transgressionibus existentibus, atque morbo exaucto ad majorem et celeriore hominis perniciem—*superabundavit* necessario et *gracia*; ut medi-

cina quæ tollat peccatum, et justificet homines. *Ut sicut* ver. 21.
regnavit peccatum in mortem, ita et gracia regnet per justiciam, cujus causa gracia est, *per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum;* qui est internuncius, via media, et ratio interposita inter Deum et homines in omnibus; *per quem* et per cujus vivendi formam *habemus accessum* ad Deum; *qui erat forma* futuræ ecclesiæ. Dicimus¹ salvos fore per Christum: hoc est, per fidem in ipso, et per illius vivendi formam.

Regnum peccati est vilissima² et fedissima servitus; cujus *stipendium est mors.* Servitus graciæ in justicia, est gloriosissimum regnum; cujus stipendium est vita eterna. *Superabundavit vero gracia,* ut relictâ servitate peccati ad mortem, regnemus per gratiam in justicia *ad vitam eternam;* *per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.*

Itaque docemur in hoc capite a Paulo, habere nostram spem omnem salutis penitus positam in solo Deo; et in spe bona pati malum; et in patientia mali simplici oculo sperare in Deo: et hoc quoque per mediatorem Jesum, formamque vivendi illius; quod exemplum erat omnibus imitandi. Ille nomine Patris sui liberavit nos a servitate; ille egit omnia. Ut a diabolo concupiscentia, peccatum, mors; ita a Christo gracia, justicia, vita. Ille perfecit in nobis quod nec natura nec lex potuit. Natura enim erat corrupta et legi infirma; gracia autem purgavit et fortificavit naturam, atque discussit corruptricem legem naturæ, quæ est *concupiscentia carnis, oculorum, et superbia vitæ;* et perfecit in nobis quod temptavit lex; his videlicet, qui gratificantur Deo per Iesum.

Homo decidit infra naturam; lex re * * * iudicavit supra naturam et seipsum in Deo cum Jesu Christo. Lex naturæ est lex sub homine; lex Moysi est lex in homine; lex graciæ est lex supra hominem. Sine gracia vero coadjutrice frustratum et vacuum est conamen omnis legis.

Utinam hac tempestate ecclesiasticarum ministri, et qui se vocant juris pontificii interpretes, velint id intelligere; vide-

¹ Dicimur, MS.

² Vilissimus, etc., MS.

licet, sine gracia Christi frustra populo Christiano leges ministrare. Atque utinam, atque utinam, illi prius velint ministrare gratiam plebi, et suaviter ac evidenter docere verbo et exemplo vivendi, quam tam duriter et torvis oculis percutere ignaros sententiis legis; cujus violentiam et sanguinem prius sentiunt miseri Christiani, quam voluntatem ejus intelligunt, qui luunt penas legis. In ejus vero hortamentis non gaudent isti, qui volunt appellari doctores legis; qui minime docent legem. Nam hoc clarissimum munus bonis theologiæ professoribus relinquunt. Appellandi sunt verius, tortores et discruciatores hominum; qui observant ubi flagris legis puniant solum, et cultro vulnerant, ut haureant aureum sanguinem plebeorum; quod tantopere sitiunt, ut ob nullam aliam causam videantur nomen suum et professionem tenere—nominantur enim legistæ, et juris prudentiam profitentur—quam ut, continuis pecuniariis mulctis, ut sanguissugi, reddant homines quasi exsanguēs sine nummis; ipsi interim tumentes furtis et latrociniis suis.

O genus hominum nephandissimum, et ecclesiæ Christi pestilentissimum; veri demones, *translati in angelos lucis*: hoc etiam ipsis demonibus pejores, et populo Christiano magis nocentes, quod propter locum quem tenent falso in ecclesia, nemo potest tuto eos et aperte despicere; sed cervices suas oportet quisque supponat gladio eorum; gladio mali exempli, gladio mulctæ et extortionis pecuniariæ.

O miseria miseriarum, qua plebs Christiani nominis miserior est, quam erat Judeorum turba sub hypocritis pharizeis. Multo justius et convenientius facerent isti nostri legulei, qui versantur in legibus, precones actionum, qui decantant formulas, observant sillabas, contextunt rethia, illaqueant simplices, extorquent nummulos, colligunt divitias; si, relictæ astutia eorum et avaricia insaciata, memores Christi et ecclesiæ suæ, prius discant quod doceant; doceant deinde quod didicerint; servent legem ipsi, prius quam varicatores puniant; prius faciant homines sapere legem, quam incautos puniant; prius provocent ipsi boni et puri servatores legis alios in sequelam, quam non sequentes deverbarent; ut possint

videri punivisse non imprudentes, sed malivolos. Atque in animadversionibus suis certe agerent opus proborum legistarum, si pie et misericorditer, si sanctis et castis manibus procederent; dolentes causam esse puniendi, punientesque postremo ad honestam et optandam emendationem malorum nostrorum.

Supersunt multa ab eodem Ioanne Colet scripta in Divum Paulum; sed puerorum ejus incuria perierunt.





INCERTI AUCTORIS

ENARRATIO IN PRIMAM B. PETRI EPISTOLAM,

A NONNULLIS COLETO ASCRIPTA.



EPISTOLA SANCTI PETRI APOSTOLI.

Petrus habitantibus in minori Asia gratia et pax.

Deus Pater preordinavit ab inicio homines diligendos ab eo per Christum, qui appellantur electi.

Spiritus Sanctus sanctificat eos, ut diligantur a Deo. Non diligitur a Deo, nisi sanctum et pulchrum et speciosum Spiritu.

Jesus Christus preordinatos ad obedientiam aspersit sanguine suo redemptivo.

VOCAT Petrus Christianos dilectos a Deo filios, sicut Deus Pater preordinavit futurum ut diligantur ab eo, et quia non possunt ab eo diligi, nisi spiritu sanctificante, ideo preordinavit ut aspergantur sancto sanguine Iesu; confisi se mundos per ipsum, et sanctos, et amatos a Deo.

Petrus, sicut et Paulus, dicit gratiam et pacem eis ad I. 1. quos scribit, et optat in eis ut gratiosa pax multiplicetur. Nam gratiosa pax finis est omnium. Vocamur ad deum per Christum, ut in gratiosa pace vivamus in ipso.

Deus pater, qui genuit Jesum Christum, idem deus pater *ver. 3.* *regeneravit nos* per Jesum sibi filios, in spem vitæ æternæ; non ex meritis nostris, sed ex spontanea misericordia sua magna; et ideo vocamur filii misericordiæ dei. Regeneravit, inquam, nos ad vitam eternam per Jesum, vivum ex mortuis; ut simus filii et heredes illius certissimæ here- *ver. 4.* *ditatis, quæ in celis credentibus conservatur.* Et idem ille *ver. 5.* deus pater omnes sibi genitos filios sua potentia custodit ad

illam preparatam salutem, quam credunt et sperant sibi futuram. Quæ quanquam adhuc non apparet, sed recon-
dita creditur, tamen *novissimo tempore* gloriosa revelabitur.

ver. 6. O in illo die vitæ et gloriæ exultabimus in gaudio, si
nunc varie temptati parumper voluerimus sustinere. Nam
ver. 7. ut igne aurum, ita ignea temptatione probatur aureus
Christianus, et declaratur quam est in conspectu dei pre-
ciosus.

Quando revelabitur ille luculentissimus Iesus, qui suo
subitaneo adventu faciet diem eternum, tunc beati erunt illi
qui invenientur examinati, et probati, et constanter justī in
afflictionibus. Talibus erit honor et gloria. Qui vero in
hoc seculo non probantur, et quorum fides in deo non
temptatur, ii estimantur quasi materia reprobā et indigna
celesti templo dei. Nam deus non construet illud suum
II. 5. templum, quod erit vivum ex *vivis lapidibus* in celo, nisi
ex talibus qui hic ante in camino hujus ardentis mundi
omni temptatione probantur. Qui vero non temptantur
hic, et quorum veritas fidei et constantiæ ab inimicis dei
non vexatur, et qui a deo non obijciuntur periculis, et qui
in igne tribulationis non ponuntur, ut quidnam sint pro-
bentur; omnes tales videntur reprobati a deo, et indigni
incude et malleo divino, et habentur pro rejecticiis et
perditis.

Quam ob rem quos deus trahit ad probationem, et quos
examinat assidue in igne temptationis in camino hujus
mundi, hos plane delegit ad salutem; et hii salvi erunt, si
in temptationibus pro Christo secum stent fortiter, et invicti
permaneant. Qui vero examinati probantur fragiles et in-
1 Cor. iii. firmi, et quasi homines *lignei, fenei, stipulanei*, non potentes
12. ferre temptationis flammās, omnes tales pro inepta et in-
justa materia a templo dei duraturo projicientur, et ad
ignem eternum, ut materia damnationis eternæ, deputa-
Mat. iii. 9. buntur; nisi deus qui *potest ex lapidibus facere filios*
Abrahæ, ex talibus fragilibus et infirmis fortes effecerit, et
tales scilicet qui temptationis ignem poterint sustinere.

1 Pet. i. 8. Iesum illum vivum dominum nostrum, *quem non videmus*
oculis corporis, tamen eum amamus, et credimus et con-
fidimus in eo; et habemus certissimam spem, venturum

diem illum, in quo *exultabimus leticia* gestienti, in gloria tanta scilicet, quæ dici non potest.

O finis fidei nostræ, si perstemus in fide. *Finis fidei nostræ* in omnipotenti deo per Christum, est ipsa *salus* ver. 9.
eterna *animarum* nostrarum. De hac nostra salute Chris- ver. 10.
tiana et gratia quam predicamus, prenunciaverunt pro- ver. 11.
phetæ in S.S. Item de hoc tempore salutis per Christum, ver. 12.
et de passionibus Christi, et de gloriis quæ tantas passiones ver. 12.
secutæ sunt. Omnia hæc ante revelata prophetæ predix-
erunt; et uti predicaverunt ea fore, evangelistæ affirma-
verunt facta esse de Christo. *In quæ* Christi misteria ver. 12.
desiderant angeli prospicere.

Quare accingatis vos mente ad iter spirituale ad deum, ver. 13.
per Jesum Christum. Estote sobrii corporibus, estote per-
fecti animabus. Sperate indubitanter illam gloriam quæ
revelabitur in vobis, quando revelabitur ille gloriosissimus
Jesus Christus.

Fuistis stulti et ignorantes; fuistis corrupti vestris cecis
desideriis; fuistis filii inobedientes. At nunc vocati estis
per Jesum et spiritum ejus ad sapientiam et lucem; ad
sanctas et puras affectiones; ad humilitatem et obedientiam:
ut sancti et sapientes, *filii obedientiæ* sitis in omni conver- ver. 14.
satione vestra, imitatores sancti dei. Deus enim ipse dixit: ver. 15.
Sancti estote, quoniam ego sanctus sum. Mementote vos ver. 16.
vocare patrem, eum deum justum, qui non respicit personas ver. 17.
hominum, sed opera, et judicabit quenquam secundum id
quod egit: quare vivatis simplices in timore dei.

O fratres; agnoscatis et recordemini vos esse redemptos ver. 18.
dei, ut serviatis illi; redemptos quidem *non auro aut*
argento, aut tali terreno et caduco precio, ab ea servili
conversatione quam accepistis traditam vobis a patribus;
ab illis inquam Judaicis ritibus et ceremoniis carnalibus, in
quibus nati fuistis; quæ fuerunt ceremoniæ et sanctifica-
tiones corporales plane, vanæ et frigidae et inutiles, ineffi-
caces:—ab istis inquam estis redempti et liberati feliciter
magno precio celesti et eterno, precio scilicet sanguinis illius ver. 19.
spiritualis agni Christi Jesu, qui sanctissimus et immaculatis-
simus mortuus est pro vobis, ut vos vivatis libera conversa-
tione in deo per ipsum:—Iesus Christus, ut redimeret sua

morte qui redemi volunt, et sanctificaret suo sanguine qui sanctificari volunt.

ver. 20.

Et istud misterium redemptionis humanæ per filium dei incarnatum moriendum, erat preordinatum et prescriptum, antequam mundus hic corporeus esset conditus; tamen non fuit manifestatum, nec ostensum, nec secretus ille Christus prodiit et apparuit, nisi in nostris extremis temporibus. Quod enim nos tandem vidimus factum de Jesu, id fuit ab initio ordinatum a Deo futurum in tempore suo; et sicuti fuerit prescriptum et predeterminatum alto Dei consilio fore, ita postremo in novissima hora perfectum est; et Jesus ille purus Filius Dei interiit pro nobis, illis scilicet qui credunt et confidunt in Deo per eundem Jesum.

ver. 21.

Et quanquam interiit, et mortuus sepultus fuerit, tamen Deus resuscitavit eum a morte, et restituit non solum vitæ, sed etiam vitæ gloriosæ; ut in glorioso vivente Christo vos Christiani haberetis fidem in Deo, ac speretis etiam vos post mortem vitam gloriosam. Nam ille Jesus homo erat mortalis uti vos estis: tamen, ut constat ex ejus resurrectione et apparitione, jam plane vivit immortalis et gloriosus. Ille idem Deus qui excitavit illum ex morte in vitam, poterit etiam facere vos, ut post mortem vivatis et glorificemini.

ver. 22.

Et quidem faciet indubitanter, si vos in hac vita mortali purificaveritis animas vestras ab omni labe et contagione peccati, et per spiritum sanctum reddideritis vos quam purissimos; si etiam obedieritis veritati in simplici fide, et acquiescatis dictis Jesu illius magistri veritatis; si denique per spiritum sanctum vere sine omni simulacione ametis vestros fratres, confilios Dei, Christianos: et in ista pura et luculenta charitate si moriemini, revivetis.

ver. 23.

O fratres, qui nati estis in mundum ex semine corruptibili parentum vestrorum, ad mortem eternam, jam a Deo per Christum renascamini ex semine incorrupto sanctissimi, et verbi Dei vivi, in celum ad vitam eternam. Concipiat in utero mentis vestræ, et decoquatis Dei verbum Christum; ut ex eo nascatur in vobis novus homo Christianus. Sciatis fructum verbi Dei in hominibus esse veram et perfectam Christianitatem. Carnalis homo pereat in vobis, et vivat in vobis Christus. Non cogitetis de fenea carne; non

ver. 24.

curetis decorem et pulchritudinem ejus. Non laboretis ut vivatis hac vita corporali, caduca et defluenti; sed totis conatibus studeatis spiritui, et faciatis dies noctesque, ut ex spiritu et verbo Dei vivatis, vita stante et permanente. Nam, ut Esaias scripsit, *Omnis caro fenum, et gloria ejus ut gloria feni viridis.* Quamobrem, ut fenum statim exarescit et cadit, ita et caro hominis, et species ejus, brevi mutatur in pulverem. *At verbum Domini,* unde renascitur homo spiritualis, unde spiritus vere vivit, nunquam defluit, nunquam delabitur, sed semper vivum et speciosum *manet in eternum.* Ex hoc verbo renascimini novi filii Dei. Es. xl. 6.

Hoc est verbum, quod nuntiaturum est vobis ab Apostolis Dei; quod accepistis, et accipiendo creditis, et credendo amatis, et amando sequimini vim illius verbi, et sequentes coalescitis in eodem ad perfectionem; et perfecti tandem veri estis Christiani in Christo, qui ipsum sane est verbum Dei quod predicatum est vobis. Nam Christus ipse est verbum ipsum; unde exorti estis Christiani, victuri in eodem vita immortalis. ver. 25.

CAP. II.

O FRATRES, *deponite omnem maliciam* hujus mundi, in qua nati fuistis; *deponite dolum* et fraudem, *deponite omnem simulationem* et hipocrisim, *deponite omnem tetram invidiam.* Abjiciatis ex ore vestro omnem oblocutionem et *detractionem.* Hæc enim sunt quæ mundum sapiunt et carnem. Hæc deducunt ad mortem. ver. 1.

Mementote vos semper renatos esse, et jam filiolos et infantulos Dei, in novum mundum gratiæ. Quare, more infantum, sugatis lac, quo alumni; lac quidem non carnale et corporeum, sed spirituale et rationis, ex mammillis Christi, lac verum et sincerum spiritus, lac animi et mentis; ut alti et nutriti illo celesti lacte rationis subolescat in vitam eternam. Gustate non amarulentum mundum, sed suavem Jesum Dominum nostrum; et exhaustes ex eo pabulum vitæ, in eodem crescatis in fide. Ipse est lactator, et ipse ver. 2.

est lac; nam lactat suos pueros seipso, ut crescant in ipso. Itaque Jesus est vobis lac vitæ.

ver. 4. Idem Jesus est vobis lapis et petra firmitatis, electus et preciosus, fundamentum veri et vivi templi Dei eterni. Judei reprobaverunt istum lapidem spiritualem, sed Deus elegit eum ex hominibus, pro primo et precipuo lapide sui spiritualis edificii ex hominibus; et posuit eum alte defixum in cruce in summa humilitate, ut firmissimum esset fundamentum divini templi Dei, constructi ex preciosis et vivis lapidibus humanis. Ex isto quidem Christo et suis Christianis construitur domus spiritualis; in quo idem est domus et sacerdotium, et qui lapides sunt domus, idem quoque sunt sacerdotes in domo; et quod magis est, iidem ipsi sacerdotes sunt hostiæ spirituales oblatæ Deo. Nam quisque eorum offert seipsum Deo, mactatum penitencia, per Jesum Christum.

O magnum miraculum, quum omnia in simplici spiritu coeunt in unum et idem in Christianitate; quæ constat ex Christo et Christianis, quod templum est Dei. Nam idem est templum et sacerdotium et oblatio; et singulus quisque lapis est domus, et sacerdos, et hostia: ex quibus omnibus, conspirantibus in unum in sanctissimo, fit una domus, et unus sacerdos, et una denique hostia; quæ ipsa est ecclesia Dei accepta a Deo.

ver. 6. Hic lapis Christus etiam est lapis ille *electus et preciosus*,
Es. xxviii. quem Esaias scribit *positum esse in Syon angularem*. O
16. Judei et gentes, quique estis, qui non creditis, vobis hic
ver. 7. lapis Christus est lapis confusionis et offensionis et scandali.
ver. 8. Nam in eum impingitis pedem, et cespetatis offensi; et volentes hunc lapidem ledere, ledimini ipsi et caditis. Contra eis qui credunt, hic lapis est lapis honoris et gloriæ, lapis firmæ stabilitatis; in quo stant fixi non casuri. Irruat tempestas et turbo, et non dejicietur is, qui fundatus est in hac petra Christi; petra, inquam, firmitatis. In
ver. 9. hoc qui fundantur in Christo, credentes omnes Christiani sunt, ex multitudine hominum arbitrio et gratia Dei electi, ut sint omnes reges et sacerdotes spirituales, sub rege et sacerdote Christo.

Hæc gens Christianorum est sancta. Hic populus Chris-

tianus [popu]lu[s] dei est quod sibi acquisivit Deus, ut potencia ejus in hoc populo annuncietur, et ostendatur quam omnipotens est Deus, qui *vocavit Christianos de tenebris peccatorum in admirabile lumen gratiæ suæ.*

O Christiani, fuistis aliquando populus diaboli, nunc ver. 10.
autem estis populus Dei. Fuistis aliquando expertes misericordiæ Dei, nunc autem misericordiam Dei consecuti estis. O bonitas et potencia Dei in Christiania. O charissimi fratres, vos non estis de hoc mundo carnali perituro. ver. 11.
Pater vester celestis non vos regenuit, ut semper hic in hoc caliginoso mundo vivatis; sed ut ex celo sitis, et in terris versati numeretis vos cives celestes; et dum hic sitis, cogitetis vos carere propria patria vestra illa angelica, et dum hic vivitis illuc vivatis et ambuletis. Quare discatis vos esse in hac regione terrena advenas et peregrinos, et ut advenæ peregrinique geratis vos. Contineatis vos, ut homines spirituales et angelici, ab omni carnali desiderio, et concupiscentia hujus mundi, quæ adversatur plane et militat contra animam et spiritum: et conversemini inter malas gentes boni; inter stultas, sapientes; inter tenebrosas, ver. 12.
lucidi; inter caducos et labentes in peccata, firmi et stabiles in gratia Dei.

Scio vos male audire; et gentes apud quos vivitis de vobis male loqui; et maleficos appellari. Verum estote vos boni inter malos, et constanter benefacite; ut videntes mali bonitatem vestram, veram, solidam, infractam et inconcussam, *glorificent Deum in die visitationis.* Quando visitabit eos Deus, et suo afflatu trahet eos ad meliora, tunc quidem glorificabunt Deum in operibus suis, et dicent: O quantum est hoc opus, quod operatur Deus in Christianis.

Quare, fratres, estote humiles; et inter istas gentes, quæ ver. 13.
sic humano spiritu turgent, geratis vos presse et submisse: non superbiatis in eos, sed subdatis vos omnibus, Dei causa. Subdatis vos regi Cesari, propter suam excellentiam. ver. 14.
Subdatis vos presidibus regis illius Romani Cesaris, et talibus gentilium magistratibus, qui solent mitti in provincias vestras. Subditi, inquam, estote eis; et tollerate eos in iis quæ agunt jure suo; ut pote cum exigunt vectigalia, vel cum censent, aut tale quid faciunt, in quo opus est patientia.

Tunc, inquam, tollerate eos, et facite patienter quæ ratio reipublicæ eorum exigit non reluctantes. Intelligatis istos magistratus positos esse, ut minentur penam male agentibus, et vindicent peccata eorum; et ut recte agentes laudent, et bonos premiis afficiant.

- ver. 15. Quamobrem benefacite omnibus, et bonitate vestra imponite silentium maliciis hominum stultorum, et ignorantium quid faciunt et quid loquuntur. Nam *hæc est voluntas Dei*, ut sitis boni et benigni omnibus. Etenim vestra libertas in Deo non est ad malum, sed ad bonum; ut liberi serviatís Deo in omni bonitate hominibus. Quare omnes honorate, etiam ethnicos dignitate preditos; et diligite fratres vestros Christianos; et Deum patrem vestrum timete.
- ver. 16.
- ver. 17.
- ver. 18. Servi omnes et famuli, subditi estote, et tollerate dominos vestros quoscumque; timentes et reverentes non solum eos dominos, qui sunt boni et benigni et humani, sed eos qui sunt *discoli*, i. pravi et asperi et rigidiores. Nam tollere molestias et gravamina injuste preter meritum;—*hæc*, inquam, tollere in Deo, et propter Deum, in pura conscientia, est magna laude et gratia dignum. Quando autem sufferimus affecti malis peccatores, nulla est laus apud Deum. Sed boni quum patimur, et patientes quando male afficimur, tunc si libenter sustineamus, laus est nobis et gloria. Christus ipse passus est omnia indigne. Ille est nobis exemplum. Imitemur illum in patientia; nam ad [hoc] vocamur, *ut sequamur vestigia ejus*.
- ver. 19.
- ver. 20.
- ver. 21. Ille sanctus sine peccato et dolo, lacessitus injuria; et quum maledictis petitus fuerit, non remaledixit; maledictentibus sibi non minatus est; sed reliquit omnem vindictam Deo Patri suo. Ipse autem Christus passus est pro peccatis nostris, et quasi nostra peccata pertulit in corpore suo crucifixus; ut in cruce illius peccata nostra moriantur, et nos deinceps sine peccato vivamus. Aspicientes vero livorem plagarum in Christi livido corpore, possumus agnoscere fontem salutis nostræ. Id testatur Esaias propheta; qui scripsit nos livore Christi et tumentibus plagis sanatos esse, et liberatos ab erroribus.
- ver. 22.
- ver. 23.
- Es. liii. 5.
- ver. 25. O fratres, letemini quasi reversi ad vitam. *Fuistis enim tanquam oves erratici*, per præcipitia vagantes, carentes duce,

carentes pastore; sed nunc reducti estis ad viam veritatis, et ad verum pastorem Jesum; qui est *episcopus* et pastor *animarum vestrarum*; qui pascit vos non alio pabulo quam semetipso. Ipse est *panis vitæ qui de celo descendit*, ut alat homines seipso Christo Jesu; ut in ipso crescant Christiani ad salutem eternam. Joan. vi. 58.

CAP. III.

VOS uxores, quæ baptismum accepistis, subjiciamini ver. 1.
 viris vestris; et obediat is pure et caste; tametsi sint adhuc infideles et sine Christo. Conversemini, inquam, cum maritis vestris sancte, pie, et honeste. Detis eis, quamquam paganis, gustum dulcissimi vestri Christiani spiritus. Mirentur illi vestram simplicitatem et celestem vivendi ver. 2.
 rationem. Revereantur vos propter vestram puritatem, obedientiam, et sanctimoniam. Quod predicationis verbum per nos Apostolos Christi non fecerit, vestra admirabili vita, moribus et conversatione, fieri poterit; videlicet, ut mariti vestri qui non credunt per nos, per vos, et vestram bonitatem et sanctam conversationem, commutentur, et trahantur ad Christum. Vita enim mulierum plus poterit aliquando, quam verba virorum vel apostolorum. Vita potenter predicat sine verbis. Illa sancta et sincera bonitas vel in mulieribus mirum in modum operatur.

Christus multis viis et modis vocat homines in suam societatem; aliquando per verba sonantia, aliquando per tacita exempla; quæ vel in sanctis mulieribus plus movent sepenumero, quam ex ore virorum prodiens oratio. Quare vos, sanctæ conjuges, vivatis cum conjugibus vestris non dum credentibus Christianiter, hoc est, immaculatæ, bonæ et patientes.

Ornetis vos, mulieres, non ornatu quidem exteriori corporis, ad fastum et pompam secularem; sed interiori ornatu animæ, ut pulchre vestitæ virtutibus speciose appareatis coram Deo, et Christo, spiritali marito vestro. Capilli vestri non crispentur calamistris. Non incedatis coma compta et calamistrata. Non apponatis aurum et gemmas capitibus vestris. Non amiciamini vestibus et palliis preci- ver. 3.

osis, ostentantes divitias, et luxuriam, et mundanas vanitates. Sed interiorum illum hominem, animam ipsam vestram, ornetis omni cura et diligentia. Sit cor vestrum purum et immaculatum. Sit spiritus in vobis quietus et placidus. Sitis vos ipsæ tacitæ et mansuetæ. Nam hic magnificus et splendidus ornatus est mulieris in oculis Dei. Imitemini Saram illam sanctam mulierem. Ornabat se intus: obediebat viro suo Abraam: *dominum illum appellabat*. Vos estis filiæ Saræ, et ejus exemplum sequamini. Speretis in Deo, vos mulieres; beneficiatis; nihil timeatis timore femineo. In spiritu sancto habeatis animos viriles, stabiles et constantes. Non expaviscatis ad omnem strepitum et motum adversariorum.

Vos quoque, viri et mariti, etiam pari forma geratis vos uxoribus vestris. Sitis mariti Christiani. In Christo fixi, dirigamini in omnibus sancto Christi spiritu. Cohabitetis cum conjugibus vestris sapienter et scienter. Non agatis quippiam stulte. Decet vos scire in omnibus plus ceteris, et sapere plus quam pagani, quo modo tractetis uxores vestras. Christianus vester spiritus doceat vos castius et purius agere, et a libidine magis vos amovere. Filius Dei filiam Dei per Christum, et conjunx conjugem aspiciat sanctis oculis, tanquam sibi sororem in Christo. Angelus, ut ita dicam, angelum intueatur. Angelus cum angelo habitet, amator angelicæ castitatis. Vir et maritus Christianus eum in suam conjugem deferat honorem, et sanctum illius corpus prosequatur ea honestate et mundicia, ut, abstinens ab inquinamento coitus, uxoris corpus illibatum servet, et suum etiam infedatum custodiat. Nam conjugati in Christo, coheredes estis gratiæ vitæ; ut gracie et spiritualiter vivatis in assidua oratione. Quamobrem abstinete a carnali copulatione, vos filii filiæque Dei, ut arctius cum Deo in spiritu orantes copulemini; utque cepta vestra vita in Christo non interrumpatur re carnis, sed perduret in veritate spiritus.

In summa, absit a vobis divisio et omnis discordia. Quod credit et sperat et velit et amat unus in domino, ament omnes. Sit inter vos mutus affectus. Si unus doleat, condoleant omnes. Si unus gaudeat, congaudeant omnes.

Quod tangit unum, id tangat universos. Ferat quisque alius onus, ut proprium et suum. Nihil quod fratris est, alienum a se esse putet. Mementote vos filios Dei esse per Christum et in Christo. Idcirco fraterne diligatis mutuo, aliusque alium amet ut fratrem in Christo. Estote misericordes, estote affabiles, humani, faciles, commodi ad consuetudinem vitæ Christianæ.

Si quis vobis malum fecerit, non faciatis vos pariter illi; ver. 9.
ne malum retaliantes vos quoque mali videamini. Nam malus est, qui facit idem quod malus. Item si quis insectetur vos conviciis et contumeliis, non respondeatis par pari in eo genere; neque sitis conviciatores cum conviciatoribus; sed contra semper et constanter estote boni, et malefactoribus faciatis bonum, et maledictoribus dicatis bonum.

Semper sitis vestri similes in bonitate, tum factis tum verbis; et in omni opere et sermone oleatis ex bono spiritu Dei: scientes vos vocatos esse a Deo patre per Christum, ut heredes sitis benedictionis, possideatisque benedictionem justa hereditate. Nam si auctores maledictionis eritis, vestra possessio erit maledictio. Maledicentes hominibus maledicentur a Deo. ver. 10.
Qui vult vitam diligere, et videre dies bonos, coerceat Ps. xxxiii.
linguam a malo, et labia sua ne loquantur dolum. Declinet 13, sqq.
a malo, et faciat bonum; querat pacem, et persequatur eam: quoniam oculi Domini super justos, et aures ejus ad deprecationem eorum; vultus Domini super facientes mala.
Faciatis ergo bonum et loquamini bonum, et semper boni estote.

Nemo noscebit vobis, si boni fueritis, sectaminique sine ver. 13.
intermissione veram bonitatem. Nam ipsa pura bonitas, utilis omnibus, nocens nemini, undeque conciliabit vobis gratiam, favorem et benevolentiam. Quod si aliter acciderit, sique fuerint homines maliciæ tantæ, ut vestra bonitate vinci nequeant; immo sua iniquitate conentur vestram bonitatem superare, et vos durius propter vestram justiciam prosequantur; nolite egre ferre; sed gaudete, judicantes vos eo esse beatiores, quo magis pro Christiana [fide] divexati fueritis. Et inter terrificantes vos state interriti et imperturbati. Suspiciatis Deum, et in afflictionibus vestris ver. 14.

glorificate eum ; leti in spiritu, quia patimini propter ipsum et in ipso.

- ver. 15. Si qui sint qui petant a vobis ut loquamini, et dicatis de vestra spe, quam habetis in Christo, et quid creditis, quidque speratis futurum de vobis per ipsum ; evestigio respondeatis talibus sciscitantibus ; sed mansuete, sed reverenter, sed humiliter ; et reddatis rationem fidei vestræ, et satisfacite eis pio sermone quantum poteritis ; defendentes eam confidentiam quam habetis in Christo, quantum poteritis, in timore Dei, et amore eorum quibuscum loquimini.

Sunt apud vos qui obloquantur vobis, et vos et viam vestram damnant, tanquam impiam et sceleratam. Sed vos habeatis bonam conscientiam coram Deo, et constanter bene conversemini in Christo Jesu ; ut confundatis malicias hominum vera bonitate vestra, faciatisque ut pudeat eos maliloquentiæ et detractionis suæ. Nulla alia via imponetis silentium eis, et istos calumniatores vincetis, quam vera vestra et perseverante bonitate. In qua si perstiteritis puri in Deo per Christum, omnis maliciæ victores evadetis.

- ver. 17. Si Deus voluerit ut divexemini et conturbemini, atque omnibus malis afficiamini, melius est ut feratis ista boni quam mali ; et beneficiatis malefactoribus, quam malum malis reddatis. Nam si referatis par pari, tum similes eorum eritis, et decidetis a bonitate Christianitatis. Christiani enim est in amore Dei et proximi, etiam inimici, in bonitate sua et patientia immobiliter perstare, ad exemplum Christi Jesu. Nam ille justus pro injustis peccatoribus mortuus est, mortificatus quidem carne sua, vivificatus autem spiritu. *Mortuus est*, inquam, *semel* pro nobis, ut nos adduceret et restitueret Deo ; ut divini facti per ipsum, non amplius peccemus, sed inter peccatores impeccantes vivamus, et inter malos boni, malum malo non referentes. Ille exemplum proposuit nobis in seipso, ut nos imitemur ipsum.

Quod dixi modo, mortificatum Christum carne, vivificatum spiritu ; intelligo ipsum mortuum fuisse juxta corporis imbecillitatem, verum resurrexisse virtute spiritus Dei ; ut nos quoque ex mortali peccato resurgentes non iterum moriamur peccatis, sed vivamus in gratia Christi, vivique inter mortuos mundi hujus maneamus.

Jesus Christus in spiritu sancto venit et predicavit incar- ver. 19.
 ceratis aliquando et inobedientibus. Incarceratis quidem ver. 20.
 in peccatis suis et incredulis Noe fabricavit arcam, *in qua*
paucae animae, 8 scilicet, salvatae fuerunt per aquam lavantem
 corpora. Vos Christianos salvos fecit baptismus, non carnis, ver. 21.
 sed conscientiae; non ablutio sordium a corpore, sed re-
 sponsio interroganti de fide in Christo. Interrogati enim
 respondistis vos in Christo credidisse; promittentes dein-
 cept bonam et puram conscientiam coram Deo vos servatu-
 ros. Baptisati in Christo sunt loti mente et pura conscien-
 tia. Christus resurrexit a mortuis, et in ipso consurreximus
 in novam conscientiam puram. Christus est ad dexteram ver. 22.
 Dei in celo rex. *Subjecit sibi angelos, potestates et virtutes.*
Christus deglutivit mortem nostram, ut efficeremur heredes
vitalis aeternae; heredes Dei patris; et Christo coheredes. Ille Rom. viii.
 in omnibus exemplum est. Ille docuit quidnam finis est 17.
 purae et sanctae vitae et sanctae mortis in patientia.

Non curetis quid alii vobis agunt, sed custodiat is vos
 puros et immaculatos, et innocentes, et patientes malum in
 vos. Non vestram causam agatis, sed aliorum. Non repre-
 hendatis nocentes vobis, sed aliis; vobis enim nocere non
 possunt; nocent sibi ipsis. De vobis gaudete, de illis
 doleatis; et malis boni estote in patientia.

CAP. IV.

QUANDOQUIDEM Christus ipse passus est in carne et ver. 1.
 corpore suo, vos quoque similiter et libenter pati-
 amini. Ille nobis exemplum dedit patientiae: patientia erit
 fortitudo et arma vestra. Cogitate vos etiam pati oportere.
 Armati sunt qui induerunt patientiam. Impatientes inermes
 et nudi sunt, et omni offensioni subjecti. Non potest ledi,
 qui patiens est; non vulnerari, qui decrevit ferre; non
 occidi, qui moritur in sua sancta patientia. Per viam
 patientiae it ad vitam eternam. Estote ergo patientes, et
 patiamini in corporibus vestris cum Christo passo, et con-
 crucifigatis vos cum ipso.

Interimatis penitus carnem concupiscentialem; et concupiscentiam omnem in carne vestra penitentiæ aqua extinguatis. Charitas spiritus sancti tollat concupiscentiam, et omne desiderium fedæ carnis. Spiritualibus appetitionibus inserviat corpus, et non amplius peccet homo, sed in Christo finem faciat peccandi. Nam qui passus est carne, et crucifixerit corpus suum, et mortificavit concupiscentias suas, is destitit a peccato. Is non vivit voluntate carnis sed voluntate Dei: non humano desiderio, sed Christiano: non in peccato corporis, sed in gracia spiritus. Is mutatus a carne in spiritum, abjicit carnalem vitam anteactam, ac secum

ver. 2. dicit: *Sat mihi est hactenus gentiliter vivisse. Sufficit preteritum vitæ tempus transigisse ad rationem et famam hujus mundi, in impietate et corruptela, perditarum gentium more.*

Quid enim est aliud in communi vita hominum, quam lascivia luxurians, concupiscentia, vinolentia, commessationes, compotationes, nefarii cultus idolorum? Christiani non currunt hac via: vita Christianorum est sancta et sobria, abstinens et parca, et colens unum et verum Deum

ver. 4. per Christum Jesum. Quod antechristiani animadvertentes, admirantur et improbant, quod Christiani in eisdem viciorum fluctibus non volutantur: et quia aliter vivunt, incusant et male loquuntur. Tenebricosis hominibus lux Christiana placere non potest. Amatores sorditatis non possunt ferre odorem Christianæ suavitatis.

Sed isti maliloqui, blasphemii veritatis, reddent rationem ei Deo, qui brevi *judicabit vivos et mortuos* in adventu suo glorioso. Quos inveniet vivos, et qui in eis mortui sunt, omnes examinabit et judicabit Deus per Christum Dominum nostrum. Etiam mortuos peccatores et vivos justos judicabit; quoniam peccatum mors est hominis, et justitia est vita eterna. Ego voco mortuos omnes quos diabolus vulneravit peccatis et interemit. Talibus mortuis evangelisatum predicatumque est evangelium Christi; *ut secundum homines in carne judicentur, secundum Deum in spiritu [vivant]: ut humana carnalitas mortificetur in eis, et divinitus spiritus vivificetur: ut damnetur caro, salvetur spiritus.* Hic finis predicationis evangelii Christi,

ver. 5.

ver. 6.

ut auditores trahantur ab homine ad Deum, a carne ad spiritum, a morte ad vitam; ut in Deo in spiritu humanæ carnis victores vivant eterniter.

Omnium rerum finis instat et appropinquat et imminet. *ver. 7.*
 Hic mundus diu non est duraturus. Veniet statim, qui imponet finem formæ hujus seculi, quique renovabit hunc mundum. Quare *estote prudentes, et sobrii, et vigilantes in orationibus*; expectantes horatim extremum diem et finem hujus seculi. *Ante omnia, fratres, mutuo inter vos amate*; *ver. 8.*
habentes charitatem inter vos mutuam, vehementem et continuam. Nam in die judicii charitas *operiet et teget multitudinem peccatorum vestrorum.* Est enim charitas operculum, quo teguntur peccata ab oculis Dei; ne Deus videat peccata ad damnationem nostram. Charitas devorat et decoquit et obruit omnia peccata, ne appareant; et ea penitus consumit; ac hominem intime purificat.

Estote hospitales erga vos invicem, alius in alium sine *ver. 9.*
 remuneratione. Sponte et libenter alius alium recipiat in hospicium. Ut quisque accepit gratiam et donum a Deo, *ver. 10.*
 ita alius in alium ministret illud. Quia est quisque dispensator donorum Dei, et gratiarum ejus in Christo. Omnia sunt Dei et a Deo: nos œconomi. Quare, ut boni œconomi, recte dispensemus gratiam aliis qui egent. Multiformis est gratia Dei.

Qui loquitur et habet donum et gratiam linguæ, et qui *ver. 11.*
 loquitur eloquia Dei, eam gratiam ministret aliis.

Qui ministrat opere et facto, ministret pro data virtute; faciatque quantum poterit pro viribus a Deo acceptis, ut Deus multiformiter et in omnibus glorificetur in Christianis, mutuo se juvantibus divinitus, per Jesum Christum; cui est gloriosum imperium eternum.

Quando accidit res nova, aliqua perturbatio, aliqua pro- *ver. 12.*
 cella tempestatis, non perturbemini. Omnia fiunt, ut examinati probemini. Compacientes cum Christo, con- *ver. 13.*
 gaudeatis hic; sed revelato glorioso Jesu, illic gaudeatis gaudio exultanti, et leticia gestienti, quæ dici non potest.

Omnis ignea temptatio est exploratio aureorum hominum, quomodo stant in fide, temptatione undique exurenti. Quod mundus vocat * * * Christus sua * * vocat felici-

ver. 14. **tatem.*** Quando in Christo afficimur probris, petimur vituperiis, jactamur turbis, agitamur fluctibus, concutimur tempestatibus, tum beati simus et felices, similes felicissimo Christo; quoniam gloriosus spiritus Dei et spiritalis gloria *super vos requiescet*. Et si corpus hominis deciderit in vobis, spiritus Dei adveniet vobis; ille qui blasphematur ab istis maledicis; qui idem spiritus a vobis patientibus glorificatur, in quo patimini afflicti.

Isti homicidæ, et fures, et facinorosi, et malefici, et qui avidè ad alienas res spectant, animo habendi et spoliandi, affliguntur juste, et patiuntur pro sua iniquitate debitas
ver. 15. penas. Verum vos non ita affligamini pro sceleribus, sed pro justitia vestra Christiana. Vos estis Christiani in Christo: non potestis peccare: patiamini ergo omnem afflictionem et damnum, ut puri Christiani in sancta
ver. 16. bonitate. Nec pudeat vos, nec erubescatis, nec confundamini in tribulationibus vobis injuste illatis; quinimmo glorificetis Deum in hac parte; et agatis Deo gratias, quia digni estis ut eligamini ad tantas probationes in hoc seculo: ut examinati, et judicati justì, approbemini digni Deo.

Est in hoc mundo domus Dei, qui sumus nos fideles, et qui credimus evangelio, et juste vivimus in Christo. Est etiam domus iniquitatis, eorum qui non credunt, infideles et peccatores.

ver. 17. Judicium Dei incipit a domo Dei et nobis, et in isto
ver. 18. judicio justus Christianus vix salvabitur. Increduli, impii, peccatores, quem habebunt finem ubi apparebunt?

Justus Christianus non salvatur, nisi strictissima examinatione. Hinc vexantur et turbantur in hoc mundo, et in ipsis hic incipit judicium, et igne temptationis probantur. Magna difficultate salvatur justus; per multas tribulationes eat oportet in celum.

O impii peccatores! O increduli veritati Christi! Ubi comparebitis vos? In alio loco erit judicium vestrum sine misericordia. Væ vobis, qui hic non examinamini! Væ, qui ducitis hic in bonis dies vestros, quoniam ad infernum

* *Fortasse legend: Quod mundus vocat miseriam, Christus summam vocat felicitatem.*

in puncto descendetis. Beati, qui hic examinantur et judicantur, et in quibus hic incipit Dei iudicium. Sine enim iudicio et probatione fidei, non est salus. Item, nisi valde probatur homo Christianus multis et assiduis et asperrimis afflictionibus, nisiue hic decoquatur et purgetur ad purum, vix evadet periculum damnationis.

Beatus ergo ille homo Christianus, cui hic mundus est amarus, qui examinatur et probatur in hoc seculo, qui misericorditer hic flagellatur, qui hic voluntarie exurit, qui libenter expurgatur; qui quam fidelis est, evidentibus probamentis declaratur; quam justus, et in sua iusticia constans, ostenditur;—hic, inquam, beatus. Hic in patientia ver. 19. sua moriens, deponit vitam suam; et tradit animam fidei Deo, benefaciens omni: in benefaciendo moritur Deo, ut vivat in eodem ipso.

CAP. V.

EGO Petrus, presbiter, obsecro vos presbiteros et seniores vv. 1, 2. populi, qui regitis greges Dei Christianos, ut regatis eos pastoraliter et pascatis regaliter, quisque suum in se gregem Christianum; pascatisque eos pabulo Dei, et agatis bonos pastores, educentes oves ad pascua vitæ eternæ, et custodientes ab hoste diabolico. Episcopemini, et agatis veros episcopos, intendentis sollicitæ curæ gregis vestri Christiani, et prospicite eis de necessariis. Et istud faciat non coacte, sed sponte et volenter. Laborem in populo libenter suscipite; onera et pericula subite.

Item non affectetis turpiter proprium lucrum, sed propenso animo et prompte sitis gregi lucro, et queratis lucrum eorum spirituale. Item non dominemini in cleris, ver. 3. nec exerceatis dominium adversus clericos. Sed estote formæ et exempla gregis. Non estimate vos dominos, nec propositos esse ut dominemini; sed ut serviatis dumtaxat, et exemplum ostendatis vitæ, ut spectantes vos imitentur.

Postremo sitis testes passionum et afflictionum Christi; ac compatimini cum eo, testantes veritatem patientia igno-

minis; ut sitis consortes gloriæ Christi illius quæ revelabitur. Imitemini me, ut ego Christum. Ego enim Petrus, presbiter, sum testis afflictionum Christi, et martir passionum ejus, et contollerans cum ipso contestor ipsum in passionibus; ut consortium habeam cum eodem in gloria illa revelanda.

ver. 4. Vos presbiteri pariter testificemini vos compatientes, et exemplum patientiæ Christi ostendatis; ut coafflicti cum Christo comparticipes sitis cum eodem gloriæ. Quando apparuerit ille princeps pastorum Jesus Christus gloriosus, tunc reportabitis *coronam gloriæ immarcessibilis*. Si imitemini Christum in passione confusionis, similes illi eritis in regno gloriæ ejus.

ver. 5. Similiter vos, juniores, subjiçiamini senioribus et presbiteris. Juniores etate, item juniores in Christianitate, atque adhuc lactantes, subditi estote perfectioribus presidibus.

Omnes Christiani alius alii vicissim subjiçiamini, humiliantes vos; ut quisque radicans in humilitate inserviat cuique presidenti in charitate. Humilitas radix est gratiæ. Superbiam vitate, rem Deo contrariam; quare *Deus restitit superbis, humilibus dat gratiam*. Si humiliaveritis vos, ascendetis in regionem luculentæ gratiæ. Si superbi eritis, descendetis in imum et abyssum tenebrarum. Superbia est casus et lapsus deorsum: humilitas ascensio est.

ver. 6. Humilie-mini igitur sub potenti manu Dei, vos infirmi, ut Deus exaltet vos in tempore exaltacionis.

ver. 7. Sperate in Deo, et conjiciatis omnem vestram curam in Deum; quoniam illi Deo Patri est cura de vobis filiis suis. Ille pater celestis providebit vobis, modo speretis in eo sinceriter. Nam non fallit sperantes in se.

ver. 8. Sobrii estote et temperati vos in omnibus. Absit a vobis omnis immodestia. Etiam vigilate spiritualiter; non dormiatis mente. Estis hic in hostili terra, plena infestis adversariis, quorum caput est *diabolus ille, leo rugiens*. Nunquam cessat ille; nunquam dormit ille. Semper vigil obambulat, et querit quem devoret et deglutiat. O bellua immanis et tartarea! O diabole, semper machinans mortem et hominis interitum! Homo hic Christianus habeat oportet

fidem solidam et fixam in Deo, et ictibus et temptationibus diabolicis resistat, et nullatenus succumbat. Quare vos *ver. 9.* state ~~†et†~~ invicti et feratis afflictiones. Est passio et afflictio res communis omnibus Christianis. Non solum vos, sed omnes fratres in mundo, omnes Christiani ubicunque sunt, affliguntur. Idcirco ferenda est ea quæ communis est calamitas; et quod omnibus fratribus fit, id non egre feratis vobis quoque fieri. Speretis in Deo omnis gratiæ. Is *ver. 10.* vocavit vos a confusione hujus seculi, in eternam suam gloriam. Pro tanta gloria oportet hic modicum patiamini a malis, ut in afflictionibus probetur confidentia vestra in Christo Jesu. In quo compatimini, ut conglorificemini in ipso. In Deo si speretis per Christum, ipse firmabit, sustinebit, et consolidabit et stabiliet vos, ne cadatis afflicti: cui *ver. 11.* sit gloriosum imperium eternum.

Dico vobis: estis in vera gratia, et gratia veritatis, et in *ver. 12.* veritate gratiæ Christi. Quare ne vacilletis; sed state in eadem firmi et stabiles; nec diffidatis revelatis a Christo, et a nobis per ipsum Christum Jesum Dominum. Salutate *ver. 14.* invicem in osculo sancto charitatis; et alius alium in sancta charitate osculetur, sanctumque amorem osculo testetur in Deo, per Christum Jesum, cui omnis gloria.

Finis Epistolæ S^{ti} Petri.





APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

(*List of Dean Colet's Writings.*)

IT may be interesting to set down in order a list of Dean Colet's works, extant or missing, so far as they can be identified from the titles preserved by various writers. The completest catalogue of them is that given by Pits, *De rebus Anglicis* (1619), i. p. 692. This, with the arrangement altered, so as to allow of some attempt at classification, is the basis of the following list; a few additional articles, taken from other sources, being inserted in their proper places. An asterisk is prefixed to the titles of the works printed for the first time in the present series, and a few illustrative notes are added throughout. When every deduction has been made for the shortness of some of the pieces, dignified with the title of "Liber," enough will remain to prove how far from the truth Harding's assertion was, in answer to Jewell: "As for John Colet, he hath never a word to shew, for he wrote no workes."

1. *De Puerili institutione*, Lib. I. "Accipe, optime ac literatissime."

The words thus quoted begin the letter of Colet to Lily, dated August, 1509, which stands prefixed to the English *Accidence*, on leaf B. v. of the little work entitled *Ioannis Coleti Theologi, Decani Divi Pauli, æditio, una cum quibusdam G. Lili Grammatices rudimentis*: Antwerp, 1535. The title, *De Puerili, &c.*, is therefore meant, in all probability, to designate the *Accidence*, which we know to have been Colet's own production. Mr. Quick, in his interesting *Essays on Educational Reformers* (1868), p. 300, has made mention of a copy of as early date as 1530. But a closer examination of this copy shows it to be (as Mr. Quick himself admits) only the one above described, dated 1535. I mention the circumstance, merely because I have failed, after many inquiries, to discover any edition earlier than 1535; and because the discovery of one printed in Colet's own lifetime, would, on account of the religious elements in it, to be presently described, possess

very great interest. Down to 1539, as it would appear from the title of the copy in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, Colet's work remained in its original form. By 1542 it was merged in the later *Introduction of the eyght partes of speche*, as is shown by the edition printed in that year; a fine copy of which, printed on vellum, is preserved in the Library of the British Museum (marked C. 21, b.), and of which a description will be found in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata* (1819), vol. ii. under the heading of "St. Paul's School" (p. 10. note d).

Besides the English *Accidence*, which was his own composition, Colet had a share in the Latin Syntax: the best account of which will be found in Erasmus's letter, prefixed to the Basle edition of 1515, and in George Lily's appendix to the *Descriptio Britanniae*, etc. of Paulus Jovius (1548), f. 47.

2. *De Moribus componendis*, Lib. I. "Hosce articulos, præceptor, recita."

This refers to the rules for admission to St. Paul's School, prescribed by Colet, and printed on leaf B *verso* and part of B ii. in the *Coleti æditio* above-mentioned. They begin with the words "The Master shal reherse these articles to them that offer their children, on this wise here folowinge."

3. *In Symbolum Fidei*, Lib. I.

As the *Articles*, described in No. 2, are followed in the *Coleti æditio* by an English version of the Apostles' Creed, there can be little doubt that under the above heading we are to include the *Catechism*, or Religious Rudiments beginning with the Creed, and occupying leaves B. ii.—B. v. of that work. Though not bearing the express name of Catechism in that place, it seems unquestionable that it is what Colet refers to in his *Statutes* (Knight's *Life*, p. 310), as "the Catechizon in Englishe that I made." Some portions of this were printed in the Introduction to the *Treatise on the Sacraments*, p. 19. In the letter prefixed to his *Catonis Disticha*, etc., dated 1513, Erasmus expressly says that his *Christiani Hominis Institutum*, printed in the same volume, was a paraphrase of what Colet had previously written in English. And, as if to mark this more distinctly, the *Institutum* begins and ends with the same texts (*Valet in Christo fides*, etc., and *Hoc fac, et vives*), which begin and end the English Catechism of Dean Colet. Hence the interest that would attach to the discovery of a copy of this *Æditio* not later than 1519, that we might feel certain as to what Colet himself wrote, without any later additions: for the influence of Erasmus's *Institutum* on succeeding formularies, and, more generally, on the whole Reformation movement, would thus

have to be referred back to the true originator, Dean Colet.—See further Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 153, and n.; and J. H. Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer* (1866), ii. p. 242.

4. *In Precationem Dominicam*, Lib. I.

Erasmus speaks of Colet as "running over," in his sermons, "sometimes a whole Epistle, sometimes a whole Gospel, the Creed, or the *Lord's Prayer*." There is also a well-known statement of Tyndale (*Answer to More*, Parker Society's Publications, p. 168), to the effect that Bishop Fitz-James "would have made the old Dean Colet of Paul's an heretic, for translating the Paternoster in English, had not the bishop of Canterbury help the dean." A paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, entitled *The vij Petitions of the Pater noster by John Colet Deane of Poules*, is inserted in the *Primer of Salisbury Use*, printed at Paris, Aug. 1532.

*5. *De Sacramentis Ecclesiæ*.

Printed in 1867, from the MS. in St. Paul's School Library.

6. *Vita Hominis Christiani*, Lib. I.

This is no doubt the *Right fruitful Admonition concerning the order of a good Christian man's life . . . made by the famous Doctour Colete, sometime deane of Paules*;" of which the earliest edition known to me is that imprinted at London for Gabriell Cawood, 1577."—A full account of the bibliography of this little work, which, in an enlarged form, had gone through two-and-twenty editions by the year 1722, will be found in J. E. Bailey's *Life of Fuller* (1874), p. 745.

7. *Ortolanus*, Lib. I.

What this title may have indicated, I can only conjecture. *Hortulanus* (for such, I presume, the word to be), is sometimes found as the title of early treatises on alchemy. But if the apophthegms at the beginning of the Gale MS. "O. 4. 44" be really Colet's, there are one or two which may give us a better clue; such as, "In illo hortulo spiritus tui maxime labora in purgandis viciis et plantandis virtutibus.—The title of the *Ortulus anime*, an edition of which was published in 1500, may also be compared with the one under consideration.

*8. *In principium Genesis*.

The first treatise in the present volume.

9. *In Proverbia Salomonos*, Lib. I.

Erasmus relates that "as soon as grace was said," at the suppers at the Deanery in Dean Colet's time, "some boy, with a

clear voice, distinctly read a chapter from the Epistles of St. Paul, or the *Proverbs of Solomon*.”—See J. G. Nichols’ *Pilgrimages* (1849), p. 134.—That the Book of Proverbs would be a favourite one with Colet, we might also be prepared to expect, from what Erasmus has left on record as to the merit of some of his own maxims.—See the *Lectures on Romans*, Introd. p. xiv. But no commentary by Colet on this book of Scripture can now be discovered.

10. *In Evangelium S. Matthæi*, Lib. i.

Of this, as of the preceding work, no traces can be discovered.

11. *In Epistolas D. Pauli*, Libb. xiv.

Pits adds to this title the memorandum, “MS. Cantabrigiæ in Collegio S. Benedicti.” But there is nothing of the kind now in the Library of Bene’t, or Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, excepting the *Exposition of Romans* printed in this volume. The mention of *fourteen* books of commentaries is most likely due to the fact of that being the number of St. Paul’s Epistles, including *Hebrews*.

Under this head there have now been published:—

*A. *Lectures on Romans*, 1873; the original MS. of which is in the University Library, Cambridge.

*B. *Exposition of Romans* (Chs. I.—V.), in the present volume, from the MS. in Corpus Christi College.

*C. *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, 1874; the original MS. of which is in the University Library, and a copy by Peter Meghen in the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

12. *Abbreviations*.

Colet directed in his Will that “the New Testament, and oder of myne own making wryten in parchement, as Coments of Paulis Epistles, and *Abbreviations*, with many such other . . . shall be disposed at the disposicion of myn executours” (*Knight’s Life*, p. 402). It is not unlikely that the abstracts of St. Paul’s Epistles, found in the Gale MS. “O. 4. 44,” are the “*Abbreviations*” here referred to.

13. *Breviloquium dictorum Christi*, Lib. I.

This is probably the work referred to by Erasmus, in the words: “*Omnia fere Christi dicta miro ingenio revocarat ad terniones; unde et librum instituerat scribere.*” The point of this is entirely missed by Knight, who renders *terniones* “heads;” and not less so

by Nichols, who renders it "subjects." *Life of Colet*, p. 69; *Pilgrimages*, p. 147. The word plainly means "ternaries," or "triplets;" as Thomas Smith had translated it in 1661. Colet's fondness for arranging things in threes may be perceived from the specimen given in the *Hierarchies*, p. 192. And it is remarkable how readily the sayings of Christ, as recorded in the Gospels, lend themselves to such an arrangement. I do not observe any mention of this in Stier: but let the reader compare, for example, the three words to the Herodians, Matt. xxii. 20; to Bartimæus, Mark x. 49; to Mary Magdalene, John xx. 15, 16, 17; to Peter, *ib.* xxi. 15; to Paul, Acts ix. 4, 5, 6; and many more; and he will understand what the nature of Colet's method probably was.

14. *De reformatione Christi*, Lib. I.

This is explained by the account left by Erasmus, of a debate between himself and Colet, on the subject of Christ's Agony in the Garden. The story is told in Seeborn's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 116. There is nothing to show that Colet committed his view of the matter to writing, in the first instance, as the above title might seem to imply; but the substance of his arguments is fully given by Erasmus in his *Disputatio de Tedio et Pavore Christi*, printed along with his *Enchiridion*, Strasburgh, 1515. See the *Lectures on I. Corinthians*, p. xvi.

15. *Ad argumenta Erasmi*, Lib. I.

At the end of the treatise *De Tedio*, etc., mentioned in the last, Erasmus adds: "Bis ad hæc respondit Coletus, toties rursus Erasmus; verum ea non quibant haberi, cum hæc imprimerentur:"—fol. 175. One of these two letters of Colet, however, was afterwards found, and printed by Erasmus in 1518, under the title *Responsio ad argumenta Erasmi*. In the Basle edition of the *Enchiridion*, etc., 1519, it occupies pp. 289-294.

*16. *Commentarii in Cælestem D. Dionysii Hierarchiam*.

*17. *Commentarii in Ecclesiasticam D. Dionysii Hierarchiam*.

These two were printed together in 1869, from the MS. in St. Paul's School, from which No. 5 was also printed. The original of the *Celestial Hierarchy* is in the Cambridge University Library; but the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is not found, to my knowledge, anywhere else than in the St. Paul's School transcript. To what was said about this MS. in the Introduction to the *De Sacramentis Ecclesie*, may be added the fact, that it bears an autograph which, so far as I can decipher it, is "Pe: ffanwood;" possibly the same person as the one mentioned in Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia* (1846), ii. p. 36.

18. *Excerptiones Doctorum*, Lib. I.

Some common-place book.

19. *Conciones Ordinariæ*, Lib. I.

Nothing remains to answer to this description, unless the homiletic exposition of the First Epistle of St. Peter, in the present volume, be judged to be Colet's.

20. *Conciones Extraordinariæ*, Lib. I.

This may designate the sermon preached before the King on Good Friday, March 27th, 1513, when Henry VIII. was preparing an expedition against France; and also that preached at Westminster, on Wolsey's installation as Cardinal, Nov. 18th, 1515. Both events are related by Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, pp. 264 and 344. There is no evidence to show that any such sermons were ever published.

21. *Ad Convocationem Cleri*, Lib. I.

This is the famous sermon before the Convocation of 1512; for which see the *Oxford Reformers*, p. 230, and Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, vi. p. 293. A copy of the early English edition of it, printed by Berthelet, is in the Lambeth Library. This was reprinted by Smith in 1661, and by an anonymous editor in 1701, and again (in the *Phoenix*) in 1708. It has since been reprinted, in both Latin and English, in Knight's *Life of Colet*.

22. *Epistolæ ad Erasmum*, Lib. 1. "Non facile credideris, Erasme."

The letter thus commencing, as well as several others from Colet, are found in the Leyden edition of Erasmus's collected works, and also in Knight's *Life*, pp. 268, sq. A translation of the present one is given by Seebohm, p. 394.

23. *Epistola ad Abbatem Winchincombensem*.

Printed in Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 265; but not very correctly. The original occupies leaves 62 and 63 of the MS. "Gg. 4. 26," in the University Library at Cambridge. An abstract of its contents is given in the *Oxford Reformers*, p. 45. Some interesting particulars of Richard Kyderminster, Abbot of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, may be gathered from *Joannis Longlondi . . . quinque Sermones* (1517), f. 54; Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, I. p. 61, § 27); and Warton's *English Poetry*, Sect. xxxvi (Murray's reprint), p. 617.

24. *Epistolæ ad Tailerum*, Lib. I. "Joannes Coletus Thomæ Tailero."

A Sir William Taylour, apparently one of the Cathedral clergy, was a witness to Dean Colet's Will. But the only Thomas Tailor

I can find any mention of, as at all contemporary with Colet, was one "Thomas Tailer, alias Barnby," who, according to Le Neve, was collated to a prebend in Lincoln Cathedral, 20th June, 1452, and died about 1485. As Colet was born in 1466 or 1467, it is just possible, but not likely, that this Thomas Tailer was the one referred to.

25. *Epistola ad Wolseium.*

This letter, asking for some ecclesiastical preferment for his first sur-master, John Rightwise, is printed in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, I. p. 190. It is also quoted by J. H. Blunt, in his *History of the Reformation*, and an abstract of it is given by Professor Brewer, *Letters and Papers, &c.*, I. p. 1202, who enters it under the year 1517. Being but short, and only to be found in Sir H. Ellis's collection, it may perhaps be given with advantage here. It is as follows :—

"R^{me}. P^r.—Is a quo accepisti has literas est hypodidasculus et submagister Scholæ nostræ grammaticæ, Vir bonæ litteraturæ et proculdubio eximiæ honestatis. Is habet quod agat cum R^{ma}. P. tua. Egit mecum ut ad tuam presentiam aliquem aditum habeat per meas literas. Pro tua bonitate dignare admittere hominem facile ad conspectum tuum. Uti intelligo, ejus causa est de quodam beneficio resignato. Plane est dignus beneficio Ecclesiastico vel magno: quare in istum virum si quid contuleris, meo judicio gratiam tuam optime collocabis. Antequam hinc discesseris visam dignitatem tuam. Cupio ut semper quam bellissime valeas; atque, quo melius tueare valetudinem tuam, opto ut cum medicis et cum medica arte parum commercii habeas: nam magna promittunt dumtaxat. Vale.

Ex Londino xvij. die Decembris.

Obser^{mus}. R. D. T. Jo. Colet.

R^{mo}. in X^o. Patri et D^{no}. D. Car^{li}.

Ebor. D^{no}. meo colendissimo

Hampton Corte,"

26. *Statuta Paulinæ Scholæ.*

Printed in Knight's *Life*, p. 302; and elsewhere.—There is a curious tradition, mentioned in Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools*, II. p. 294, and one which deserves to be thoroughly sifted, to the effect that "the Statutes of Saint Paul's School, in London, were founded upon the model of those at Banbury," in Oxfordshire.

27. *Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis S. Pauli London:*

Printed in the copious and valuable *Registrum Statutorum et Consuetudinum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli Londinensis*, edited

by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., Librarian of St. Paul's, 1873, pp. 217-248.

23. *Statuta Fraternitatis Iesu.*

One of the offices held by Dean Colet was that of Rector of the Guild or Fraternity of Jesus, in the "crowds," or cloisters, of St. Paul's. In this capacity, besides having the various documents belonging to the Guild collected and transcribed, he drew up a body of ordinances for its regulation, entitled "Othir Ordenaunces enacted for Diuine Seruice by the seid Rectour, Wardeins, and Brothirs of the seid fraternyte." The book containing these documents was in the possession of Dr. Thomas Tanner, Chancellor of Norwich, when Bishop Kennett wrote—(See his MS. Collections, vol. xcvi. fol. 61 : Lansdowne, n°. 1030), and is now n°. 221 of the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The entire contents of it have been printed by Dr. Simpson in the *Registrum Statutorum* above described, where they occupy pp. 433-462.



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